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Searchlight

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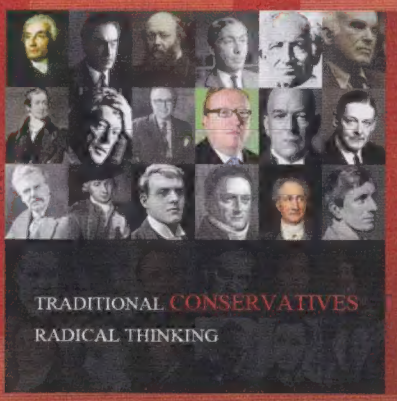
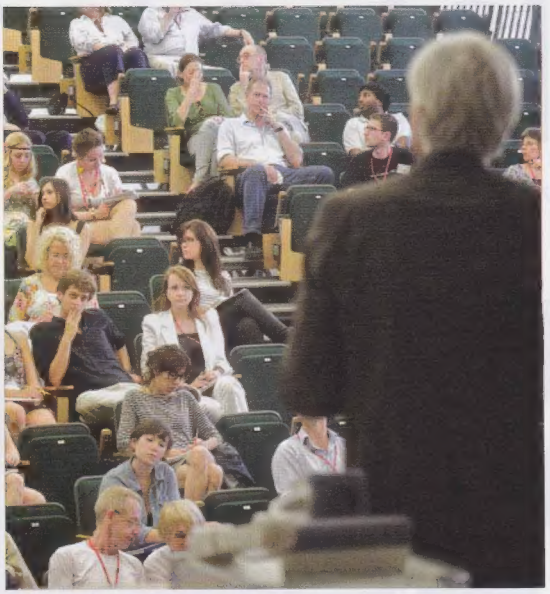
The Traditional Britain Group at play



Well connected, well healed and a danger for democracy



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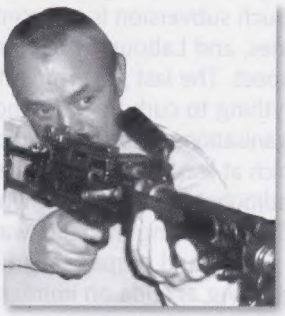

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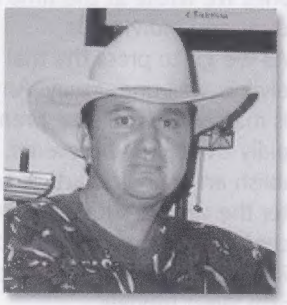

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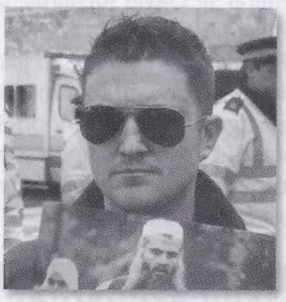

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Editorial

SUBVERSIVES FOR A 'TRADITIONAL BRITAIN'

By Gerry Gable

THIS MONTH WE pay a long overdue visit to Britain's ultra-Conservatives and some of their allies with the first of a series of articles by Adam Carter on people who are very far removed from the senior party in the government coalition. Some of those who are influential in the Traditional Britain Group have long-time associations on the extreme right and were a thorn in the side of traditional One Nation Toryism. They were among those who plagued former Prime Minister Edward Heath, who stood up to threats to his leadership and government from racists such as Enoch Powell and the 34 Conservative MPs who, as members of the once powerful Monday Club, held the balance of parliamentary power during his administration. These were the people who supported Ian Smith's racist regime in what was then Rhodesia, and similar causes. During that period entire branches of Monday Club were shut down.

Also active were also the small but influential groups such as Tory Action, run by the City banker and former deputy head of MI6 the late George Kennedy Young, and WISE (Welsh, Irish, Scottish and English) run by Joan Mason and the late fascist supporter Lady Jane Birdwood. Many of those involved were not only anti-democratic but hard-core racists and Holocaust deniers. At their meetings often more than half the audience consisted of members of openly nazi and fascist groups.

Even Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher became concerned about their machinations, but it appears that in the guise of the Traditional Britain Group these people have resurfaced over the past decade and are reaching out to columnists on national newspapers and organisations such as the UK Independence Party.

Among the Conservatives who read *Searchlight* I am sure there must be some who are appalled at this creeping subversion and are keen to expose the threat that the Traditional Britain Group represents for their party. It would be good to hear from you.

Such subversion is not confined to the Tories, and Labour is not blameless in this respect. The last government did little if anything to curb the influence of organisations such as Migrationwatch UK, of which at least one senior officer addressed the Traditional Britain Group, while the Home Office was using Migrationwatch as a conduit to pursue and propagate an increasingly rightwing agenda on immigration.

When we have time we will place on our website some of the more illuminating stories we wrote at the time about these groups and individuals.

As we go to press the trial of Anders Breivik is well under way. Any coverage in this magazine would be premature and rapidly overtaken by events. We will publish an analytical article about the trial after the verdict. However we welcome the recent police raids on some of Breivik's British fellow Islamophobes of the so-called North West Infidels.

This month we follow up our April story about a serving Royal Marine who is also an active Nazi, by raising the matter with General Sir David Richards, Chief of the Defence Staff.

Finally we would like to join all antifascists in looking forward to a meaningful defeat of the fragmented far right on 3 May. It's been good out campaigning in some of the hot spots and helping to produce, with others, hard-hitting material.

Visit www.searchlightmagazine.com for news and updates, blogs and reader comments

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International speakers address far-right London meetings

By **Gerry Gable**

THE HEAD of the ultra-Catholic Society of St Pius X Society (SSPX) in Sweden was a last-minute addition to the panel of speakers at the Iona London Forum meeting on 24 March. Baron Jonas de Greer joined the advertised line-up of three speakers from Sweden trailed in the February-March edition of *Searchlight*.

Also set to speak at the meeting at the Fountain Abbey pub in Praed Street, Paddington, one of Iona's regular venues, was Jonathan Bowden on the subject of Charles Maurras and Action Française. For the fascists and ultra Catholics in the audience it was this contribution that was the most appreciated.

Maurras, a French writer and principal thinker of the prewar Action Française movement, was a lifelong antisemite and French nationalist who believed in putting his country above everything else. As such he was disgusted with his fellow nationalists who "crawl on their bellies before Hitler".

Nevertheless he supported the fall of the Third Republic and its replacement by the collaborationist Vichy government, describing it as a "divine surprise", and approved of Vichy's reactionary programme of *Révolution Nationale*, believing that France could restore itself morally and politically under Marshal Pétain. Most significantly, he criticised the 1940 "Statute on Jews" for being too moderate. This was the legislation that designated Jews as a lower class and deprived them of citizenship, before they were rounded up at Drancy internment camp and taken to the Nazi death camps.

Maurras was sentenced to life imprisonment after the Liberation and died in 1952 shortly after being transferred from prison to a hospital.

Baron de Greer caused a stir in Sweden when he invited the far-right Catholic Bishop Richard Williamson to speak in churches there, but he has not lived in Sweden for several years and now resides with his wife on the island of Stronsay in the Orkneys, where the couple run the local post office, a detail about which he was keen to keep quiet.

While the Baron was speaking, the pub's brewers received a phone call, allegedly from the *Sunday Mirror*, informing them that a Nazi meeting was taking place in the pub. As a result the brewers instructed the licensees, a white South African couple, to close the meeting.

However claims that the police came and threw people out onto the pavement were untrue. The licensees did call the police after threats of violence were made against the pub, but the police had no contact with the people attending the meeting.

Another false report on the day claimed that the meeting was being held by the New Right group and that its organiser Troy Southgate had been seen on the premises. The Iona London Forum is actually run by Jeremy "Jez" Bedford-Turner, as we have stated more than once over the past few months.

Searchlight has been monitoring meetings of the New Right group and more recently the Iona London Forum for some time. While we would generally support antifascist efforts to ban public fascist meetings, these are private meetings where the fascists are only talking to each other, but are outlining their strategy and political programme with which they seek to influence the wider far right. Our volunteers who attend these meetings and report back to us on the proceedings are carrying out an important task at some personal risk.

After the call from the brewery the licensees politely waited until Baron de Greer had finished speaking before asking the meeting's participants to leave. *Searchlight* was able to track the 72 nazis at the meeting to their new destination – not the Army and Navy Club in Pall Mall as one report alleged, but the nearby Victory Services Club in Seymour Street, Marble Arch, a place we knew they used several months ago. When the meeting resumed, the audience had grown because some stragglers who had arrived too late to get to the pub had phoned and made it to the new venue.

The three Swedish fascists duly spoke. Oma Filmersson described the situation in Sweden, Tage Talquest exposed the antifascist magazine Expo, advertised as an "insight into the Zionism and Anti-White racism of Scandinavia's wealthy antiracist organisation", and Lasse Wilhelmson, a one-time respected journalist and

author of the best selling *Is the World Upside Down*, explored the theme from Zionism to Humanism.

One prominent person present was not happy. Martin Webster, the organiser of the National Front in its 1970s heyday, moaned about one of the Swedes who declared that he had a Jewish mother and had once been a communist and a kibbutznik in Israel. Webster was incensed that what he called a "self-loathing Jew" had been invited to speak at an Iona meeting.

Many of those who attended the Iona meeting also made their way to Southgate's New Right group meeting two weeks later on 7 April, over the Easter weekend. The group returned to its long-time stomping group, the Lamb and Flag pub in Holborn. The keynote speaker was to be Andriy Voloshyn, a 26-year-old Ukrainian student and leading light in the Ukrainian Traditionalist Club, which has links with a similar body in Russia. It propagates a line similar to Southgate's integral traditionalism. Integralism was close to Maurras's heart.

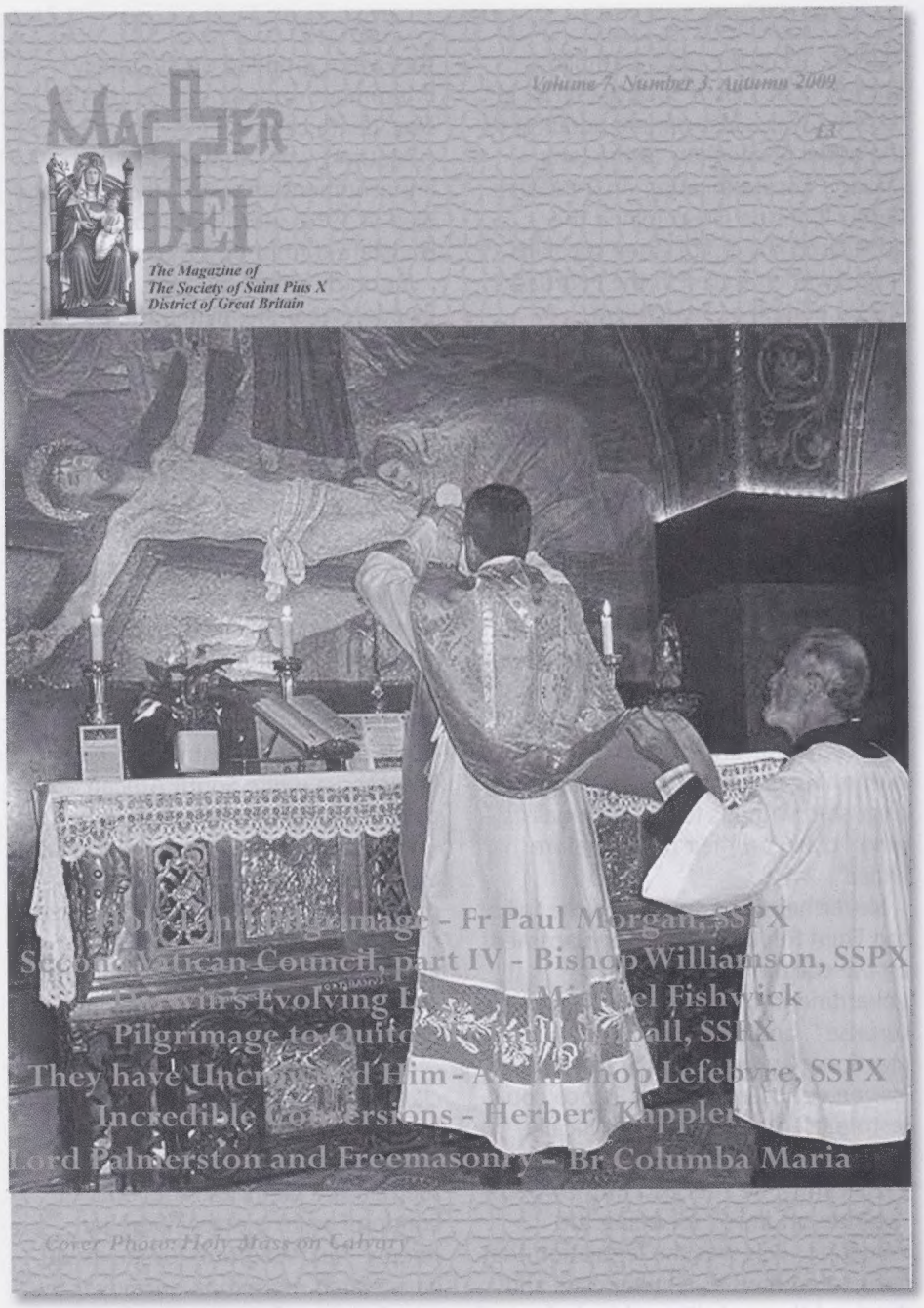
Voloshyn is also connected with Arktos Media Ltd, the New Right publisher exposed in the February-March issue of Searchlight. Arktos, which is based in the UK, is linked to the Swedish neo-nazi movement and the people behind websites that deny the Holocaust and advocate white supremacy. Southgate is one of the authors published by Arktos.

Voloshyn published a favourable review of issue 2 of Arktos's publication *The Initiate*, a journal that claims to provide a forum for academic research into fields related to Traditionalism. The first issue was published in spring 2008 but it took until autumn 2010 for the more substantial 128-page second edition to appear. Voloshyn's review concludes: "Finally we would like to wish inspiration for all the authors and hopefully we'll see many other issues of this wonderful magazine." Issue 3 is still awaited.

The overlap between the New Right group and Iona was apparent from the fact that selected attendees at the New Right meeting had been invited to an Iona social evening immediately afterwards, if they contacted Bedford-Turner for the location. Voloshyn was due to speak at that function as well, before undertaking a whistle-stop tour of England and Wales, stopping in York, Leeds and Cardiff.

The Lamb and Flag has been a regular fascist watering hole. Three years ago some antifascists who had attended the annual general meeting of Searchlight Information Services Ltd, the company behind the Hope Not Hate campaign, found their way into the pub. When I realised where they had gone, I warned them of the risk they were running and advised them to leave. One of them was shocked, saying the pub was where their trade union branch held its meetings. The union later complained to the brewers and it seems that a new manager was appointed who was unaware of the previous fascist use of the pub.

As the New Right group meeting was getting under way with 42 people in an overcrowded room, Webster fell



Mater Dei, publication of the Society of St Pius X

New Right Group guest of honour, the prominent Ukrainian Traditionalist Andriy Voloshyn

out with one of his bosom buddies over who would get the better chair. Webster's friend ended up walking out.

The first speaker was Peter Rushton, deputy editor of *Heritage and Destiny*, published by the tiny Preston-based England First Party. Rushton, a regular at meetings of both the New Right group and Iona, regaled the audience with a history of the MP Richard Stokes, who had a problem deciding what side to support in the Second World War, but went on to become a minister in the postwar Labour Government. Stokes tried to organise a separate peace with Germany in 1939. A hardline Catholic, he feared the ascendency of the Soviet Union.

After Voloshyn's contribution, the final speaker was Webster who bored everyone stiff about his sciatic condition and how he needed injections to control the pain. His medical problems did not, however, stop him shouting about "the Jews". His make-it-up-as-you-go-along rant was so loud that it alarmed the pub landlord, who was probably already wondering about this collection of strange-looking individuals hauling quantities of books for sale at their meeting, and including the huge figure of Wulf the Pagan and indeed Webster himself.

Bursting into the room, the landlord caught Webster in full flow attacking Jews and all things Jewish. Horrified, he declared that he had run the Lamb for three years, and also lived there, and was not going to allow a bunch of white racists to damage its reputation. Threatening to call the police, he threw them out.

So off they went leaving Webster, as always wanting to have the last word, arguing with a number of police officers before he too retreated.

Among those attending recent New Right meetings are Rod Law, a former British National Party councillor in Loughton, Essex, together with the old thug Tony Martin (not to be confused with Tony Martin from Croydon BNP) and Rob Jarvis, another former BNP activist who is standing as an independent for Loughton Town Council on 3 May in an attempt to hoodwink voters.

Apart from them, *Searchlight* can reveal further details of who attended each meeting. Note the overlap.

Iona meeting on 24 March

Jez Bedford-Turner
Michael Woodbridge
Anthony Hancock
Michèle Renouf
Peter Rushton
Jonathan Bowden
Paul Ballard
Duncan Robertson
Martin Webster
Tony Bollie
John Jones
Michael Steele
Milton Ellis
Gordon Tom Callow
Ian Dell and his two sons
Frank Walsh
Sean (Bedford-Turner's military friend)
Michael Stoneham
Frank Walsh
Matt Tait
Rod Law
Tony Martin
Rob Jarvis
Scottish Alex
Spaniard (with Hancock)
Young blond woman with shoulder-length hair
Older woman with dyed black hair
Two men from SSPX
Baron Jonas de Greer
Oma Filmersson
Lasse Wilhelmson
Tage Talquest

New Right Group meeting on 7 April

Troy Southgate and partner
Andriy Voloshyn
Peter Rushton
Martin Webster
Wulf and two children
Rod Law
Tony Martin
Rob Jarvis
Bert Leach
Anthony Hancock
Gordon Tom Callow
Duncan Robertson
Ballard (not Paul, thought to be with Voloshyn)
Duncan Robertson
Michèle Renouf
Jeffrey/Geoffrey/Jeremy? (not seen before)
Fat blond man
Christian video-maker from Carshalton
Adrian Davies
Book seller

Familiar obsessions

In the first of a series of articles on the Conservative right, Searchlight examines the Traditional Britain Group.

By **Adam Carter**

ON 16 JUNE 2012 a collection of ageing diehard far-right activists and a younger generation of right-wing Conservative militants will be meeting, dressed *de rigueur* in black tie, in an upmarket club in central London. The dinner is being held to celebrate the centenary of the birth of the late Enoch Powell, the former Conservative and Ulster Unionist MP, now best known of course for his 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968 which did much to foment the racism of the late sixties and early seventies. The meeting will be addressed by Dr Frank Ellis, a former lecturer in Russian and Slavonic studies at Leeds University, who was suspended, and then took early retirement, following a furore over controversial comments he made linking race with IQ in 2006.

This elite gathering is the latest meeting of the Traditional Britain Group, one of the few extant organisations on the ultra-right of the Conservative Party. Originally launched with little fanfare in the early 2000s, the Traditional Britain Group has been led by people with a long pedigree of activism in the murky fringes of the Conservative Party and extreme-right circles. Its membership and influence has been fairly small so far: *Searchlight* was aware of its presence at some of the Countryside Alliance demonstrations in 2002 and its members were active in the formation of the Conservative Democratic Alliance (the two organisations once shared a PO Box) in 2001 and at some other gatherings of like-minded ultra-conservatives such as the 'Trafalgar Day' conference in October 2006.

However there are signs that, following the formation of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, the Traditional Britain Group may have undergone a revival. It has begun to attract a younger and more dynamic membership through the use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter and could potentially become a rallying ground for some Tory and UK Independence Party (UKIP) members who are disillusioned with the leadership of their own parties, particularly on social authoritarian issues of race, immigration, the European Union and identity.

The main activities of the Traditional Britain Group until recently were social gatherings, particularly its annual dinners, which have featured a range of Conservative and right-wing speakers. In 2003 the guest of honour was Tony Martin, a farmer who in 1999 was convicted of the murder, later reduced on appeal to manslaughter, of a burglar in his home. He had been released from his five-year sentence in January 2003. In 2006 the speaker was Simon Heffer, former associate editor at *The Daily Telegraph*, a biographer of Enoch Powell and currently an online commentator for *The Daily Mail*.

In 2009 its meetings were addressed by Abba Seraphim of the tiny British Orthodox Church and by Gregory Lauder-Frost (see below) and Sam Swerling on 'Immigration and the Decline of Britain'. In 2010, aristocratic TV personality Frances Fulford, veteran far-right barrister Adrian Davies (see profile in *Searchlight* February-March 2012) and Christopher Gillibrand, a Catholic conservative intellectual and director of the Institute for Innovative Ideas think tank, were among the speakers. Its 2011 meetings featured former British National Party member Stuart Millson and Gerard Batten, UKIP MEP for London. The 2012 AGM in March was also fixated on multiculturalism with a speech from Matthew Pollard, Executive Director of the anti-immigration pressure group Migration Watch.

The Traditional Britain Group professes to combine traditional Conservative thinking and radical anti-liberalism. This can be seen on its website home page, which features images of a host of conservative thinkers who presumably influence its thought, ranging from icons of conservatism such as Lord Salisbury, Bejamin Disraeli, Neville Chamberlain, Enoch Powell and Roger Scruton to icons of the radical right such as the German 'conservative revolutionaries' Oswald Spengler and Ernst Jünger, influential fascist philosopher Julius Evola, French New Right guru Alain de Benoist and contemporary Russian nationalist Alexander Dugin.

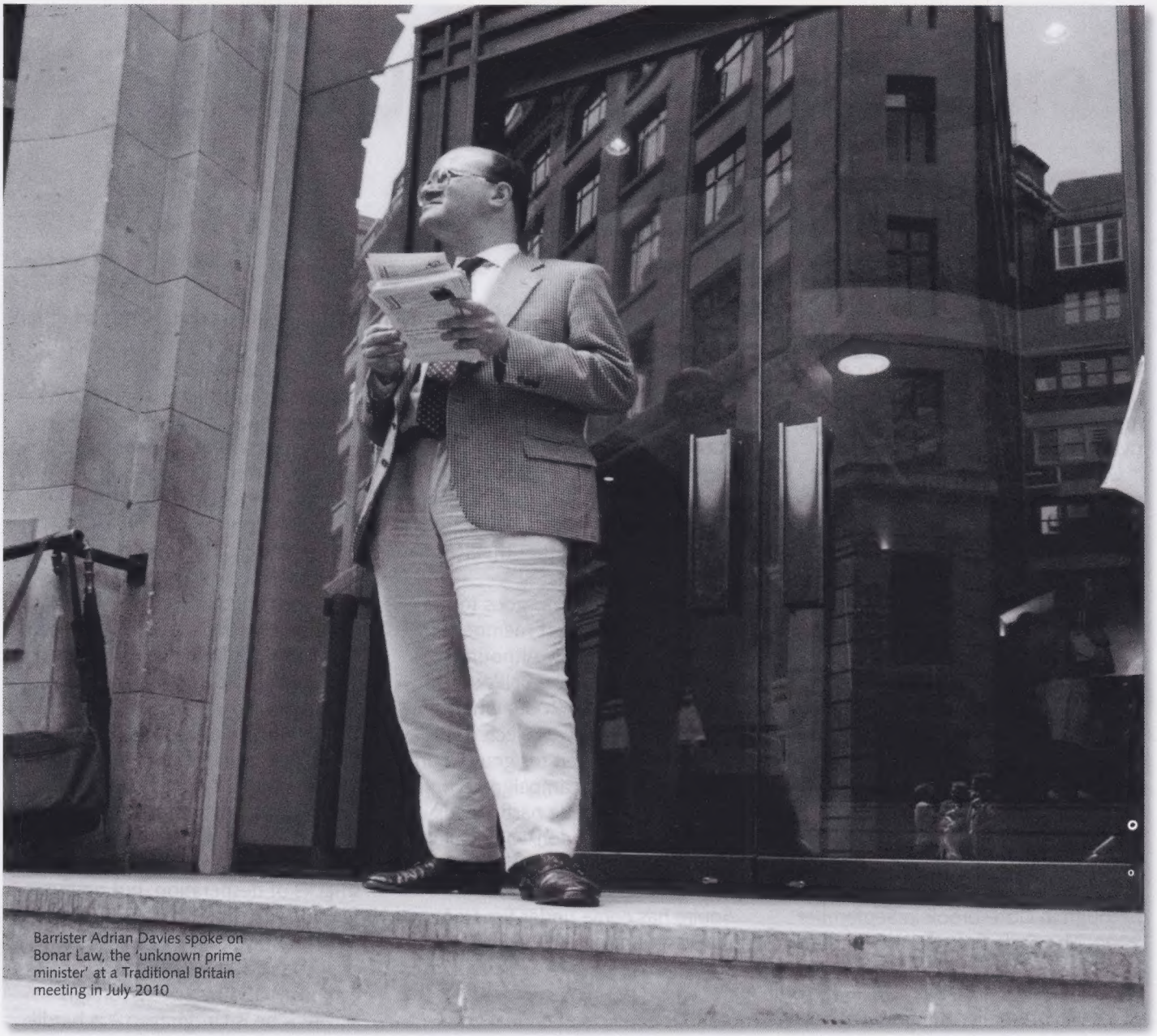
The strategic and ideological impetus behind the group is described on its website – a reactionary appeal to 'traditional' values aligned with a more radical position on social issues, especially race. "British traditions and heritage are under threat as never before. Political correctness and enforced multiculturalism have watered down our rich national character and have forced honest and intelligent people to hide their true feelings for fear of reprisals," it says. The website also stresses the importance of youth and the modern media: "under a new generation of young, enthusiastic and passionate talent we offer a focal point to promote ideas, discussion, networking, education and action ... through the use of modern media, the internet, marketing campaigns, meetings, university groups, lectures and social events."

The group's current president is Eton-educated former hereditary peer Lord Sudeley, who has been associated with a plethora of right-wing pressure groups. He is a former long-term chairman of the Monday Club, a vice-president of the ultra-conservative Western Goals institute and vice-president of the International Monarchist League.

Its vice-president is Gregory Lauder-Frost, who has a similarly extensive and chequered history on the far right and

Gregory Lauder-Frost spoke on 'Immigration and the decline of Britain' in December 2009

Former BNP member Stuart Millson (left) playing host to the French fascist leader Jean-Marie Le Pen in London in 1991. In March 2011 he addressed a Traditional Britain meeting on the theme 'Britain: nation or shopping mall'



Barrister Adrian Davies spoke on Bonar Law, the 'unknown prime minister' at a Traditional Britain meeting in July 2010

who was convicted of several charges of fraud while working for Riverside Health authority in 1992. His activism has included Western Goals, where, as vice-president (1989-2000), he was instrumental in arranging a meeting addressed by Jean-Marie Le Pen, former leader of the French National Front. He was also heavily involved in the Monday Club as Foreign Affairs Committee chairman as well as political secretary, and with the short-lived Conservative Democratic Alliance, which tried to unite the ultra-conservative right in the mid-2000s.

Lauder-Frost has previously shared a platform with Holocaust deniers such as Ernst Zündel and David Irving. In 2001 he was quoted in the *Daily Telegraph* saying: "I have been a conservative all of my adult life. Throughout that time I have observed the Conservative Party become more and more a Liberal party until we have now reached a point where traditional conservatism has been trashed altogether. ... The party's liberal embracing of the multi-cultural society, at odds with its view of the early 1970s when it proposed orderly and funded repatriation, has placed it at odds with the vast majority of its supporters." According to a *Guardian* investigation in 2006 he was in contact with the BNP but "unable to be an active member, as he spends most of his time at his home in the country".

As well as such established far-right luminaries, the Traditional Britain Group features some younger activists on its committee including Louis Welcomme (chairman), Liam Stokes (secretary), Henry Hopwood-Phillips, Calum Rupert Heaton-Gent and George Jones. Many of the younger members are active in its eight regional groups and contribute to its Facebook page, which features the usual right-wing attacks on liberalism and multiculturalism as well as cruder racist posts which associate black people with criminality.

Although the Traditional Britain Group is still small, there are clear signs that it is attracting a new generation of activists and that its reactionary views on race and immigration are finding a receptive audience. Given the lack of competition on the Tory right, other than the civic nationalism of UKIP, and the widespread extreme-right disillusionment with David Cameron's government, there is every chance that its membership and influence could increase. *Searchlight* will be taking a close interest in its activities.

Sex shop profits fund BNP London campaign

By **Sonia Gable**

A BARKING AND DAGENHAM council by-election on 19 April showed that the British National Party can still attract electoral support despite all the internal problems the party has faced over the past two years.

Goresbrook is probably the BNP's strongest ward in London, so even its 30.8% (593 votes) to some extent represents a defeat. Labour held the seat with 57.8% (1,113 votes), with UK Independence Party, Conservative and Liberal Democrat opponents all coming in under 5%.

However the BNP's claim to have "won the white working class vote ... with a landslide" contains an element of truth. Aside from the fact that the Labour Party nationally no longer addresses many of the concerns of the working class, the demographics of Barking and Dagenham have changed since the BNP won its first seat in the borough in Goresbrook in September 2004. The party failed to retain it after Daniel Kelley resigned in May 2005 but went on to take 12 seats on the council in 2006, including two in Goresbrook, all of which were lost at the next election in 2010. Few non-white voters are likely to support the BNP, so the party's white working-class vote must have been somewhat higher than 30.8%.

Last month's by-election again saw the use of dirty tricks, with the distribution of an anonymous leaflet directed at black voters 'warning' that if they vote Labour they will lose their homes and get deported. The crudely worded letter was intended to look like it was written by a black person with poor English. Only one candidate stood to gain by this leaflet, but we doubt whether it will appear on his election expenses. The BNP has previously used dirty tricks in the borough with its 'Africans for Essex' claim that London boroughs were giving 'Africans' huge grants to buy houses in Barking and Dagenham.

One welcome development in this election is that antifascists from Unite Against Fascism, Barking Says No, the National Union of Teachers and *Searchlight* united to distribute a joint leaflet throughout the ward, which exposed the true nature of the particular racist thug that the BNP had selected as its candidate.

The whole of London goes to the polls on 3 May to elect members of the London Assembly. Although it seems unlikely that the BNP will repeat its success of 2008, when Richard Barnbrook was elected, nothing can be taken for granted and antifascists will be campaigning right up to polling day. The party needs only 5% in the London-wide ballot to secure a seat for Stephen Squire, who heads the party's list.

Squire has come under fire from antifascists, former BNP activists and the *Daily Star Sunday*, which exposed him on 15 April. The son of a notorious convicted criminal and member of the fascist National Front, Squire makes his money from running a seedy and unlicensed Soho sex shop called Seymores World. Those profits enable him to be one of the BNP's main funders, which may be why he tops the party's list.

Ten years ago Squire was revealed to be illegally selling the date rape drug GHB from the shop. GHB has been used by rapists to spike drinks undetected. It makes the victim compliant and often leaves her unconscious with such severe memory loss that she has no idea what happened.

Others on the BNP's London list are little better. Bob Taylor, who was also the BNP's candidate for Goresbrook, is a nasty bigot who uses his Facebook page to post obscenities and threaten violence against politicians and others. He also posted a photograph of himself imitating the widely reproduced picture of a gun-toting Anders Breivik, currently on trial in Norway for killing 77 people last July in the cause of Islamophobia.

John Clarke, a leading BNP activist from Croydon, was on Breivik's email list, as was Donna Treanor. And Roberta Woods was convicted for contempt of court for walking off a jury during a trial. She said she had no faith in British justice and the jury system was a joke. Woods is also a racist who, while working at a City bank, wrote in a fascist publication that she was shocked to be surrounded by "aliens".

The choice of these people as candidates, albeit – apart from Squire – with no chance of being elected, smacks of desperation, but no more so than putting up Carlos Cortiglia for London mayor. As such, he is the public face of the BNP's London campaign and his strong foreign accent – he is Uruguayan – is hardly likely to endear him to the type of voters the BNP is trying to attract; likewise his statement that he would have fought for the Argentinian Junta in the Falklands war had he got the chance.

The BNP is trying to promote populist non-racist policies in this election, including abolition of the congestion charge and free travel on public transport at weekends. Asked about these policies on BBC television in April, Cortiglia admitted he had no idea what they would cost and that they were not really policies at all but "aspirations". He also had no idea what might be within the mayor's powers. The BNP seems to think he acquitted himself well in that interview.

The BNP's London vote will be hurt,

BNP London candidate Bob Taylor as he likes to see himself

though only slightly, by competition from the fascist NF and the English Democrats Party. Although the EDP is not itself fascist, it has welcomed large numbers of former fascists into the party. Two are on the EDP's London Assembly list: Michael Barnbrook, formerly BNP, and Mark Twiddy, a former NF member.

Around the country seven BNP councillors are defending their seats. They are:

- Sharon Wilkinson, the BNP's last councillor in Burnley, where the party once held eight seats.
- Patricia Richardson, the BNP's last councillor in Loughton, Epping Forest District, where voters have thrown out her five fascist colleagues.
- Lewis Allsebrook and Cliff Roper in Amber Valley.
- Will Blair in Rotherham.
- Martyn Findley in Nuneaton and Bedworth.
- Adam Grant in Pendle, in Marsden ward where the BNP managed to retain a seat in 2010.

In addition, Tom Bates, elected for the BNP in 2008, is defending his Calderdale seat as an independent, supported by much the same people who campaigned for him in the BNP. The BNP has no candidates in the borough. And Seamus Dunne, elected for the BNP in Three Rivers, Hertfordshire, is hoping to retain his seat for the EDP.

The BNP has a total of 137 candidates, well down on recent years, but they show the party still has many active units. Smaller parties, including some recent splinters from the BNP, are unlikely to make much impact. They include six candidates from the British Freedom Party, which is linked to the English Defence League, five in Liverpool and one in Basildon. There are 35 NF candidates, more than in recent years, including eight in Scotland, a country abandoned by the BNP. Scotland also has the four candidates from the tiny Britannia Party, all in Glasgow.

The tiny and openly Nazi British People's Party has one candidate, David Jones in Calderdale. His reported expulsion from the BPP last month is unlikely to damage his election chances. The only slightly larger England First Party has one candidate in Preston, pretty much its only area of activity, and the Democratic Nationalists, recently revived from the dead – though still on life support – by interest from the BNP's dissident MEP Andrew Brons, have four candidates in Yorkshire.

Finally the EDP failed spectacularly to achieve its target of 375 candidates nationally to secure an election broadcast, managing only 92, mainly in Yorkshire and The Humber, the East of England and the North West. They include Eddy Butler, who used to mastermind election campaigning for the BNP and hopes to win a seat once held by the BNP in Loughton.

The racist parties are likely to be damaged by the ongoing Breivik trial, as many voters will make an association, although Breivik's British contacts were mostly limited to the EDL. Conciliatory remarks by Nick Griffin about the EDL in February seem misjudged, but the BNP leader has few other friends left. He was rebuffed by the EDL leadership, but a number of activists support both organisations.

Griffin made further overtures towards racist street activists in April after the arrest of five members of the North West Infidels, a split-off from the EDL, over race hate material posted online. Writing on Twitter on 19 April, Griffin described the arrests as Zionist inspired and aimed "clearly to make people too frightened to comment on social media". He advised those arrested to contact the BNP for a good solicitor. Presumably Griffin feels obliged to support people who make vile racist postings online, seeing that so many of his members, including election candidates, do just that.

A case in point is Michael Coleman who appeared in court last month over comments made on his website. Coleman, the BNP's leader in Stoke-on-Trent who lost his council seat in May 2011, denied two charges of racially or religiously aggravated harassment, alarm or distress caused by words or writing between August 2011 and March 2012.

The BNP was once, briefly, the second biggest group on the council, with nine seats, but, asked whether Coleman had been suspended from membership, Steve Batkin, another former BNP councillor, told *The Sentinel*, "I haven't discussed the situation ... but to be honest there has been a lot of demoralisation in the local party ever since the council group leader Alby Walker left". The likely loss of most of the BNP's remaining councillors in England is unlikely to improve morale.

A bit of luck and some judgement produce BNP financial turnaround

By Sonia Gable

A WEEK is a long time in politics, Harold Wilson famously said. And for the British National Party it appears that a year is a long time in its accounts. After its record loss of £401,962 in 2010, the party's draft accounts for 2011 show a remarkable profit of £189,824.78.

The figures, which are disclosed in issue 3 of the BNP's internal Central Party Report, have not been checked by the party's auditors, Silver & Co, but it is unlikely that Clive Jefferson, the BNP treasurer, would publish them with such precision if they were not fairly reliable.

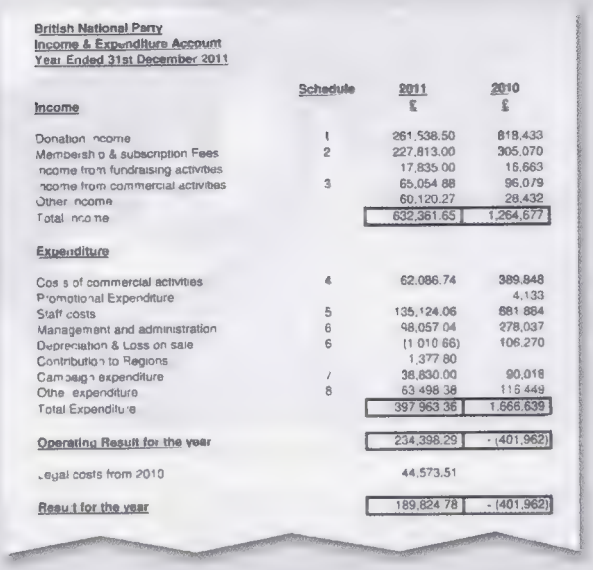
The profit, the party's first since 2004, is the result of a more than 75% reduction in expenditure, and has been achieved despite income being almost exactly half that of 2010. The lower income from donations, membership fees and other sources is not unexpected, given that the party's chief fundraiser Jim Dowson left at the end of 2010, the party declined and there was no major election around which to base a fundraising campaign.

The biggest cut has been in staff costs, down from £681,884 in 2010 to £135,124 after several party employees lost their jobs. Fewer staff has probably helped in reducing management and administration expenditure generally, with no one around to spend the money. Campaign expenditure is also down, mainly because the party spent £57,416 on lost general election deposits in 2010, not repeated in 2011.

Legal fees, though lower, remain high. The 2010 accounts showed costs of £85,562, and the 2011 income and expenditure account adds "legal costs from 2010" of £44,574 to that. Further legal fees of £49,749 were incurred in 2011 itself.

For once the BNP admits that there are several outstanding court cases and disputed debts, "which have to be included in a 'worst case scenario'", but the Teflon-coated party considers they are "highly unlikely to materialise".

One crucial set of figures missing from the report is a balance sheet. The profit will still leave the BNP with a deficit of £565,424 at the end of 2011. There is not enough information to determine how much the party owed to creditors for goods, services and taxation, but it must have been quite a lot more than the £52,000 they were claiming in summer 2011.



British National Party
Income & Expenditure Account
Year Ended 31st December 2011

	Schedule	2011 £	2010 £
Income			
Donation ncome	1	261,538.50	818,433
Membersh p & subscription Fees	2	227,813.00	305,070
ncome from fundraising activities		17,835.00	16,663
ncome from commercial activities	3	65,054.88	96,079
Other ncome		60,120.27	28,432
Total ncome		632,361.65	1,264,677
Expenditure			
Cos s of commercial activities	4	62,086.74	389,848
Promotional Expenditure			4,133
Staff costs	5	135,124.06	681,884
Management and administration	6	98,057.04	278,037
Depreciation & Loss on sale	6	(1 010 66)	106,270
Contribution to Regions		1,377.80	
Campaign expenditure	7	38,830.00	90,018
Othe expenditure	8	63 498 38	116 449
Total Expenditure		397 963 36	1,666,639
Operating Result for the year		234,398.29	- (401,962)
Legal costs from 2010		44,573.51	
Resu t for the year		189,824 78	- (401,962)

Membership income of £153,837 is perhaps higher than might be expected. Andrew Brons, the BNP's dissident MEP, wrote on 8 February, "The British National Party claims still to have between 3,000 and 4,000 members, including 1,000 life members – from a total of 14,500 members in 2010". His 2010 figure is exaggerated but the 2011 income indicates rather more than 4,000 members in that year. He may have a political motive for minimising the figure.

Of particular interest is the revelation that the party expects to receive income from legacies in 2012 "approaching half a million pounds", "thanks to several very loyal supporters who remembered the Party in their wills before sadly passing on", rather conveniently for party leader Nick Griffin. However, as is the way with legacies, the party "will not receive the benefit of these gifts for several months", meaning it still needs to "generate a sustainable fund raising income". Griffin doesn't want to put the members off from emptying their pockets in the fundraising meetings the BNP is holding around the country in the run-up to the local elections on 3 May.

One of the dead BNP supporters is Albert Edward Starmore of Chingford, northeast London, who is understood to have left a house to the fascist party. Starmore crossed *Searchlight*'s path several years ago when he was still alive and thinking of selling his house, buying a cheaper property in Wales and giving the BNP the balance of the sale proceeds. For some reason it seems he changed his mind.

Assuming the BNP continues in 2012 not to spend more than its income, the legacies will wipe out the BNP's deficit and put the party in a good position financially to fight the European election in 2014, when Griffin will seek a second term in the European Parliament.

Griffin will also hope to capitalise on voters' economic problems as a result of the government's cuts by scapegoating immigrants, helped by the tabloid press. His main problem will be the lack of party activists to canvass voters and put his message across in the community.

In 2010 Griffin promised to step down as BNP leader in 2013 to focus on getting re-elected to the European Parliament. He intended to "make way for a younger person". As yet no clear successor has emerged, unless he hopes to emulate Jean-Marie Le Pen and pass the baton to his daughter Jennifer Matthys. Unlike Marine Le Pen, however, Matthys has shown no aptitude for the job. We shall see.

Betraying their ancestors

By **Tayo Aluko**

SOME FRIENDS of mine were accused of betraying their ancestors and forefathers the other day. As I am mostly used to ancestors being referred to and invoked by Africans and people of African descent worldwide, it came as a bit of a surprise to me, as on this occasion, the alleged offenders were white. And what was the shameful thing these people had done? They had gathered in the Northern town of Bolton to mount a counter-demonstration against a group calling themselves the North West Infidels, a splinter group of the English Defence League. Yes, the accuser was a white supremacist who thought that other white folk had no place disturbing their demand for a pure white England.future events.

Who were the ancestors who'd be turning in their graves? Presumably the slave traders, businessmen and the generals that went forth to conquer, rape and colonise all corners of the earth, armed with devastating military technology and an innate sense of natural superiority. It doesn't occur to the members of the NWI that the imbalances and injustices in today's world can be traced directly to those military and commercial missions, and that the descendants of their victims often come here from around the world partly because of the resulting mess their homes have been left in. It is also OK for white folks to go forth, multiply and prosper elsewhere, but not for others of different hues to do the same here.

It was striking that the most prominent flag displayed by the NWI was that of the "Combined Ex Forces" – young men who had served in Iraq and Afghanistan. I doubt that they are aware of the history of British Armed Forces' sojourns in that country dating back to the 19th century, and the almost continuously successful resistance of the Afghans from that time onwards. It is therefore ironic that politicians and generals insist on maintaining the arrogance that makes them (and some of the public) believe the lie that the reason for them remaining in Afghanistan is the need to "train the Afghan army" to look after their own country. It is also sad that the kind of people supposedly doing the training include young men like members of the NWI, and perhaps not so surprising that occasionally the Afghans turn their guns on British soldiers.

Two of the fascists were arrested at the end of the day. Whilst this was seen as a good end to a day that saw them outnumbered by the anti-fascists almost two to one, I couldn't help feeling a little sorry for them because their racism is down to pure ignorance. With so much of taxpayers' money going on warmongering, they were probably denied a decent education and had few alternative forms of employment available to them.

I confess to having been a little worried going on that demonstration, as I associate the British National Party and EDL with violent thuggery. And as there were likely to be few black people facing them, I feared for my safety. I felt a little embarrassed at how pathetic I was being when I thought of all the young people fighting on both sides of the war in Afghanistan, or of the thousands bravely fighting and dying at the hands of tyrannical regimes in the Middle East and elsewhere knowing they could be maimed or killed any day. I remembered those who fought and died to liberate themselves in South Africa and all over Africa over centuries, and I thought of my ancestors in the African Diaspora who fought the heinous system of slavery (thousands dying in the process) so that I can walk the streets of London, Liverpool and Bolton in freedom.

Many of their names will never be known to me, but one stands as tall as any. Paul Robeson (1897-1976), the famous African American actor, singer and civil rights activist, was prepared to sacrifice a very lucrative career to fight not just for his own people, but for oppressed people the world over. He even went to the battlefront in the Spanish Civil War in 1938 and sang to the troops and volunteers fighting General Franco's fascist army. With the bravery of people like him and of all the other ancestors there to inspire me, the least I could do was spend a Saturday afternoon being a part of a relatively peaceful demonstration, admitting that I had no alternative but to join the fight that our ancestors (including the white ones) started, for a peaceful, just and equal society.

©Tayo Aluko, April 2012

Tayo Aluko is a singer, actor and writer. His play, Call Mr Robeson, is showing at the Warehouse Theatre, Croydon between Friday 4 and Sunday 20 May 2012. Further information available at www.callmrrobeson.com

Arthur Kemp: profile of

By Dr Paul Jackson

ANALYSING THE BRITISH far right brings one up against not only high profile figures, but also important clandestine influences. A mercurial figure that clearly fits in the latter category is Arthur Kemp, someone who, as well as working within the British National Party, has developed an influential fascist philosophy of history promoting the 'white race' as the driving force of historical change. He has set out this extremist position in his major work, *March of the Titans: A History of the White Race*, which I will analyse later. He has also written a number of other key publications, most notably his history of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, *Victory or Violence: The Story of the AWB of South Africa*. Through the lens of Kemp and his writings, we can see how the contemporary far right tries to develop for itself a sense of intellectual coherence and gives racist views a sense of gravitas and ideological purpose.

Arthur Kemp in the British National Party

During the 2000s, Kemp became an influential figure within the British far right. We can note that his role in the British National Party in the 2000s was primarily behind the scenes. He seems to have been closely connected with the party between 2004 and 2011, and his duties included running ideological training programmes designed to help instil a sense of ideological coherence among the key 'voting members'. Kemp also promoted white nationalism to the newer figures who joined after encountering the party's more populist, Islamism views. He developed the party's merchandising operations, and offered opinions on foreign affairs issues.

Kemp was publically welcomed into the party too. Nick Griffin, the BNP leader, described him in glowing terms, for example on the party's website: "Arthur is a highly skilled and very welcome addition to our central team. I am delighted to have been able to bring him on board and hope he will be with us throughout the years of decision ahead of us."

Moreover, we can see Kemp's influence on the party's messages to the wider public in his part in the White History Month campaign of 2008. This was a stunt the BNP developed along 'differentialist racist' lines, arguing that all 'races' had a right to celebrate their different identities. According to the theory, just as Black History Month celebrated black history, white people had an equal right to celebrate their history. The campaign saw attempts to engage with universities, schools and even scout groups. Yet underneath glossy leaflets lay a more clearly racist core message.

Behind this superficial gloss one found Kemp's ideas on white nationalist history. The website dedicated to promoting the White History Month project took the curious surfer to a full reproduction of Kemp's major work of racist history, *March of the Titans*. This is an online resource that Kemp maintains to this day, long after the White History Month project was abandoned by the BNP. Nevertheless, the example reveals Kemp's key role in developing the racist

Arthur Kemp poses next to a swastika

The University of Northampton's Radicalism and New Media research group (www.radicalism-new-media.org) is an unaffiliated academic research and consultancy unit formed in 2009. It has worked on several projects with *Searchlight*, most notably *Lone Wolves: Myth or Reality?* and *Far-Right.com* (both appearing in 2011), and is grateful to the editors of *Searchlight* magazine for the opportunity to provide monthly independent comment in these pages.

a white race ideologue

ideology that underpins contemporary British fascism.

South Africa and America

Kemp's journey to the BNP began in South Africa. Here, he grew up under the apartheid regime, and became a firm supporter of it in its final years. As a student at Cape Town University, he promoted the regime's ideals in student societies. He also later worked for the South African security forces. Then, in 1993, he was associated with the assassination of the leading African National Congress activist Chris Hani. Allegations developed that Kemp had provided conspirators with a 'hit list', which included Hani's name, who then employed a hit man to carry out the assassination. Kemp denied such involvement, and notably escaped prosecution.

This association with the Hani murder, and a lasting impression that his state connections allowed him to escape prosecution at the expense of others, has given him a polarising profile among many in far-right circles. Typically, one critical contributor, writing on the Stormfront web forum, describes him as follows:

> "Arthur Kemp is a traitor to his family, his people, his nation and his race … He actually works against White Nationalism.
> This fact is public knowledge in South Africa.
> All Arthur's shenannigans came out during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and is in public record.
> The man is a poisonous rattlesnake and should be avoided at all cost.
> Just the mention of his name sets my blood boiling …"

As well as this controversial involvement in South African affairs, Kemp has been active in American circles too. In the mid 1990s, he wrote a notorious essay, 'An Apology to the Black Man from the White Race', which helped to raise his profile in US far-right circles. This mocking essay was followed by a close association with William Pierce and the National Alliance, a connection Kemp developed as part of his preliminary research for *March of the Titans*. He wrote for *National Vanguard* in the 2000s as part of this US connection. Moreover, he has also developed links to other far-right groupings, including the National Democratic Party in Germany. Indeed, despite his polarising past, he is a good networker, and often seen as a useful contact.

A fascist version of history

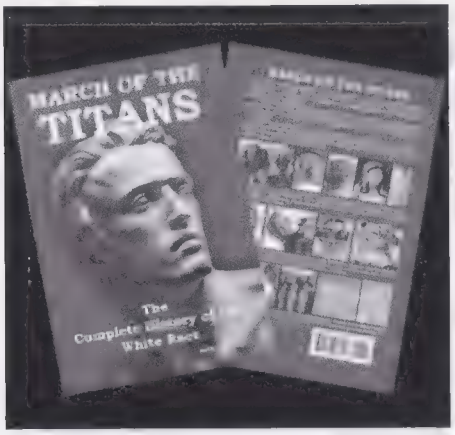
Moreover, Kemp likes to think of himself as an intellectual and a historian. Fascists are drawn to history as moths are to light. However, the fascist understanding of the past is invariably skewed to make political points in the present, and even promote revolutionary change. Kemp's *March of the Titans: A History of the White Race* is a classic example of such a form of unscholarly history writing. As such, it bears closer resemblance to fiction, than it does to an objective interpretation of the past. What does this text tell us about the fascist understanding of history?

In the book's Preface, Kemp defines races specifically in a way that links physical appearance to mental ability, while also arguing that the conflicts between races are the key to understanding the whole of history. For the uninitiated, his spurious approach also tries to blind his readers with science. He suggests that 'paleoserology' can be used to map the genetic makeup of past civilisations. Yet what this jargon often entails in practice is Kemp commenting on photos of Egyptian mummies, trying to argue that ancient Egyptians are part of the same 'white race' he wants to promote in the present. Among historians, we call this 'imagining' a community.

Ancient Greece and Rome are also part of the ostensibly true story that, he claims, professional historians (such as myself) actively supress. Yet as with his analysis of the ancient Egyptian civilisation, in Kemp's alternate history of the 'white race' in the examples of Greece and Rome, he also argues these 'white' civilisations eventually declined because of race mixing. Interbreeding with slaves led to a decline in the creative abilities of the population. This is his 'law' of history. As he puts this point:

> "If the society which has produced a particular civilisation stays intact as a racially homogeneous unit, then that civilisation remains active. If, however, the society within any particular given area changes its racial makeup – through invasion, immigration, or any decline in numbers – then the civilisation which that society has produced will disappear within them, to be replaced by a new civilisation reflecting the new inhabitants of that territory."

For the most part, his analysis tries to ground this point by extensively



surveying European history, all of which spans hundreds of pages. In sum, we learn that all the 'white' nations of Europe had high points in earlier centuries, when racially pure cultures were allowed to flourish. In the interwar period, countries such as Germany faced a more significant crisis from an 'alien' race. Indeed, we are even told that, when the Nazis came to power, Jewish people declared war on Germany. This is a 'fact' he unconvincingly grounds in an irrelevant clipping from the *Daily Express*. Moreover, after the onset of the Second World War the narrative implies Holocaust denial themes too.

In the postwar analysis, we then encounter the core political message this extensive analysis of the past is trying to make. Kemp not only tries to show how European nations are being overrun by new waves of non-white migrants, but also claims that this poses an existential crisis for the 'white race'. The world, according to his law of history, is entering a new stage of elemental decline. This has major implications for the present and the coming decades, he concludes.

The myth of racial rebirth

Despite stressing such emotive doom and gloom, at the core of truly fascist readings of history always lies a glimmer of hope for a new, utopian future to emerge from a grim representation of the present. Hitler's presentation of Germany under Nazism as a nation overthrowing the chains of Weimar decadence and ushering in the 'glorious Thousand Year Reich' typifies this fascist delusion. Often, this message comes with a turn to a mythology to help evoke the sense of rebirth. Kemp too exemplifies this theme, and at the end of his history he argues that the Norse mythology of Ragnarok is key to finding a way out of the present crisis. In sum, this story tells of the end of the world, and its rebirth after it is bathed in fire and water.

In Kemp's grounding of such mythology, he argues that in the coming decades, the white race will rise again as, eventually, the racial mixing promoted by corrupt liberal democracies in the West will result in the decline of nations as we know them. To counterpoint this process of decline and fall, the true 'white race' needs to develop a new politics, one that is populist and focused on the future. They will also need to reproduce in ever-greater numbers, to maintain a racially pure strand of the population.

Kemp in 2012

Kemp left the BNP in September 2011, but, intentionally or otherwise, his ideas are still promoted by the organisation. For example, one can still find a BNP webpage reviewing positively his book *Four Flags: The Indigenous People of Britain*. This shorter text by Kemp argues that, despite repeated invasions, a long history as a trading nation, the impact of its empire, and developing a quite racially mixed population as a consequence, in fact Britain's genetic makeup has been largely unaffected by historic migration patterns. The BNP's glowing review even promotes t-shirt merchandising that reproduces the book's front cover. More generally, Kemp's ideas permeate white nationalists in watered down forms, and are also discussed on internet forums.

Finally, Kemp's current activity also includes promoting his 'publishing house' Ostara Publications, which distributes *March of the Titans*, alongside other works by Kemp and similar authors that promote racist histories. Moreover, Kemp's blog offers him a more personal outlet. Interestingly, here he has recently scotched rumours of becoming involved in a new far-right party in Britain. Given his track record as a networker, and trusted internal figure, one wonders if there is more to these rumours. Only time will tell here, but Kemp did spend some time working on the dissident website run by Andrew Brons – the BNP MEP who unsuccessfully challenged Griffin for the party leadership in summer 2011 and who many disillusioned or expelled former BNP members hoped would form a rival party. Brons set up a think-tank under the name BNP Ideas, but believed it was essential to have a core base of at least 1,500 people to go with him if he was to create a serious political force rather than yet another splinter group that crashes and burns. BNP Ideas is now the Nationalist Unity Forum, Brons remains in the BNP and has distanced himself from Kemp, yet Brons's website still promotes several books from Ostara Publications.

It has been suggested by those in the far right that Kemp has 'followed the money', and may be trying to make a deal with Jim Dowson, one-time fundraising wizard for the BNP who now runs the small far-right campaign group Britain First together with other former BNP officers. So Kemp remains a key figure to pay close attention to, a backstage operator providing a potent ideological backcloth for white nationalist ideology.

Dr Mark Pitchford is Visiting Research Fellow, King's College, London, British Fellow, Radicalism and New Media Group, Northampton University, and Managing Editor e-Extreme, Newsletter of the ECPR's Standing Group in Extremism and Democracy

Former would-be gun importer jailed for sex abuse

By **Gerry Gable**

A FORMER NAZI would-be terrorist from Grimsby has been jailed for seven and a half years for sexually abusing two girls. Cameron Dudley, 43, pleaded guilty to 13 offences at Grimsby Crown Court in February, including ten of indecent assault, one of sexual assault and one of sexual activity with a child. The offences were committed over several years.

The court heard that Dudley went to the police in August last year before any investigation had started and wanted to be given a long prison sentence to show he had been punished. "His remorse is as genuine as anyone's could be," said Catarina Sjolin in mitigation. Whether he thought the police might be catching up with him is not known.

Long-time *Searchlight* readers may remember Dudley. In October 2000 he was jailed for five years, also at Grimsby Crown Court, for trying to import a .22 revolver by buying it in the USA on the internet (see *Searchlight* December 2000). He had planned to use the gun in a racist campaign.

Dudley, who has been closely linked to many extreme-right organisations including Blood and Honour and the magazine *Final Conflict* produced by the convicted Italian terrorist Roberto Fiore, was revealed during that case to be a former member of the Ku Klux Klan. He was trapped by an undercover FBI special agent using the code name Grim Reaper, who maintained a friendship with him in the white supremacist Aryan Nations internet chatroom from April 1999 until Dudley's arrest that November.

Using the pseudonym UKNSSH (United Kingdom National Socialist Skin Head), Dudley discussed how weapons could be transported to the UK. They also talked about the possibility of obtaining explosives, with Dudley referring to former British National Party member David Copeland's nail bombings in London that year.

One of the emails he sent Grim Reaper depicted a black person being burned alive on a pyre by a group of whites. Dudley also boasted of organising a racist campaign and looking forward to "popping the first nig".

Dudley, known as Duds to his fascist comrades, planned to travel to the USA to meet Grim Reaper and the Aryan Nations Nazis. Instead he faced Special Agent Marcus Lawson giving evidence against him in court.

At a trial in June 2000 he was acquitted of attempting to possess a firearm with intent to endanger life, but pleaded guilty in October 2000 to the lesser charge of attempting to possess a firearm with intent to cause fear or provocation of violence, and of possessing a prohibited weapon, CS spray.

The CS canister was found after a police search of his home, where officers also found a Ku Klux Klan cloak and hood, instructions on how to light a Klan cross and membership certificates showing that in 1991 Dudley was promoted from ordinary klansman to "exalted Cyclops". He also had Nazi posters, photos of Nazi leaders and National Front and BNP literature.

After his release from prison, he lost no time in reregistering on the Stormfront Nazi internet forum in May 2002. His account was still active at the end of March 2012. In July 2003 he registered the domain name runeandsword.com for a website and mail order business. The site was originally hosted by the notorious Scottish Blood and Honour Nazi Steve Cartwright, who used to recruit for the Ku Klux Klan via his race-hate magazine *Highlander*.

In 2007 he was noted peddling replica Hitler Youth daggers and explained on Stormfront: "Rune and Sword name comes from the logo. The logo's from an old Skrewdriver [Nazi band] T shirt design that I loved so much I got it tatted when I was 19 and belive me that many many many moons ago. I do plan to re stock the HJ daggers again in the summer plus a couple of swords. Trouble is finding the quality ones (swords) instead of the crap molded ones."

The word on the far right is that some of Dudley's associates knew about his sexual predilections but were prepared to keep quiet as he was a handy Nazi comrade. However fear that some of them might come after him could have been a factor in his decision to hand himself in to the police.

Those who were not in the know and are horrified by his crimes might feel inclined to contact us with more details of his connection to the convicted racist hate-monger Simon Sheppard and his associate Stephen Whittle, who used the pseudonym Luke O'Farrell.

Dudley is not the only fascist to combine attempted terrorism with sex offences. When police raided Martyn Gilleard of the openly Nazi British People's Party they found 39,000 indecent images of children and an arsenal of weapons, bombs and far-right literature. He was preparing to wage race war.

Cameron Dudley: had wide extreme-right links

Far-right paramilitaries and s

By **Gerry Gable**

LAST MONTH *Searchlight* published an investigation of a new far-right paramilitary group called the Combined Ex-Forces, commonly known as the CXF. We said its members were roaming the streets in uniform, seemingly at will, and turned up alongside BNP leader Nick Griffin and the party's spokesman Simon Darby at their Protect the Poppy vigil in London last November.

We printed photographs of men in uniform that we said was clearly in breach of section 1 of the Public Order Act 1936, which outlaws the wearing of political uniforms in public.

We named a serving soldier in the Royal Marines who has been actively engaged in stalking potential targets among Liverpool antifascists. He has used an alias in the British National Party and other far-right groups. He has also boasted about trying to find potential recruits for the far right while serving in Afghanistan.

At the end of April we wrote to Government ministers who have responsibility for defence, law and order, and related areas, to the Opposition spokespersons in these areas and others, primarily in the Ministry of Defence, Home Office and Justice Department.

We also contacted the Crown Prosecution Service and those MPs who take an interest in the welfare of our armed forces, who may wish to protect them from subversion from the far right.

We will let readers know what they say in reply.

Searchlight Magazine

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Editor: Gerry Gable

General Sir David Richards GCB, CBE, DSO ADC Gen
The Ministry of Defence
Floor 5, Zone A, Main Building
Whitehall
London
SW1A 2HB

23 April 2012

Dear Sir,

I would very much appreciate it if you could take a few minutes to peruse the attached enclosures. I feel these matters will be of concern to you.

The relevant information appears in the April 2012 issue of Searchlight magazine, starting with the front cover and the articles on pages 10 and 11, under the title "The Return of the Paramilitaries".

As I am sure you are aware, both members of the prison and Police service are forbidden to join the British National Party. I understand this also extends to the largely defunct Combat 18, although in reality it was never a membership based organisation but a group of hardline Nazis involved in violence and subversion both here and abroad.

It was brought to light that the BNP had members in the military when their membership list became public in November 2008, and also in October 2009. In the Royal Military Police (SIB) records it was claimed, during a court case, that in the dying days of Combat 18 as many as 30 serving soldiers were active with C18.

In the wake of the growth of the often violent English Defence League, it is apparent that new groups of a paramilitary nature have sprouted. You will read in our coverage that one is known as the "Combined Ex-Forces" organisation. They came to the attention of the Metropolitan Police last November when there were threats of the use of firearms. This was the same day they were recorded on film in the company of the Chairman of the British National Party, Nick Griffin MEP. There can be no mistaking that the uniforms they were wearing are in breach of sections of the Public Order Act.

I would like to draw your attention to the following article on page 11 of the April edition of Searchlight. First, to the photograph showing Marine Commando Ralph Hebden, posing as Steve

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ubversion in the armed forces

Davis, on a BNP activity near the TUC conference in Liverpool in September 2009. The article reads as follows "Meet Ralph Hebden. One of the serving Marines running around with the CXF (combined ex-forces) is Ralph Hebden. Seen at various NF (National Front) and NWI (North West Infidels) events in the North West recently, Hebden also hangs around with BNP dissident elements. Hebden tries to put antifascists off his scent and even puts about stories to prevent his fascist associates from knowing where he lives.

"One of the pieces of disinformation he has peddled with some success is that his name is Steve Davis, which how he is captioned on the generally very good blog run by Liverpool Antifascists, who were fed this story to mislead those trying to combat fascist violence. Last year Hebden stalked an antifascist couple with a video camera in an attempt to cause fear among the fascists enemies, only exacerbated if they were looking for the wrong man. As a service to antifascists in Liverpool and elsewhere, we picture him here correctly captioned.

"Hebden has served two tours of duty in the Royal Marine Commandos in Afghanistan in recent years. When he is not on active service he spends his time with far-right groups mainly in the North West and the Scottish Borders, which may be where he is stationed.

"He boasts that he is trying to recruit fellow Marines on active service in Afghanistan. The Marines have suffered many casualties, many are resentful and may prove a fertile recruiting ground, particularly when successive British governments send our troops off to fight in pointless and difficult conflicts, only to return to find that cutbacks mean premature retirement, no jobs and exposure to the unsuppressed rantings of the EDL and BNP."

Also enclosed is the January edition of Searchlight. On pages 18 and 19 we have a photographic report of an English Defence League demonstration in Barking, East London. This shows the use of a flag bearing the symbol of the British Army, which it is not illegal to fly; however it was drawn to our attention that one young man carried on his T- shirt "English Defence League, Colchester Garrison Division".

I would be very much obliged if you could take time to let me have your thoughts on this matter. I have copied this letter to a number of Government Ministers, who cover law and order and defence matters, together with other potentially interested parties, as follows: Rt. Hon. Philip Hammond MP, Secretary of State for Defence, Jim Murphy MP, Shadow Minister for Defence, Nick Harvey MP, Liberal Democrat Defence Spokesperson, Lord Paddy Ashdown, Sir Kenneth Clark, Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, Emily Thornberry MP, Labour Opposition Attorney General spokesperson, Sadiq Khan MP QC, Labour Shadow Chancellor, Keir Starmer, Director Crown Prosecution Services and Rt. Hon Theresa May MP, Home Secretary.

Yours faithfully,

Gerry Gable MA (Crim) DUniv
Editor Searchlight Magazine

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Serving Marine Commando Ralph Hebden posing as Steve Davis on a BNP activity near the TUC conference in Liverpool, September 2009

Photo: Daphne Liddle

Antifascists organise to

By **Sonia Gable**

THE RACISTS of the English Defence League are planning to return to Luton on 5 May to celebrate the third anniversary of the formation of the Islamophobic organisation.

The EDL emerged in Luton in 2009 following a protest by a handful of Islamist extremists at the homecoming parade of the Royal Anglian Regiment through the town in March that year.

Since then it has gained thousands of supporters across the country and attracted up to 3,000 people to its demonstrations, which have often resulted in violence. Recent protests have been smaller, but the emotional significance of Luton, especially following EDL leader Tommy Robinson's appearance on the Channel 4 documentary *Proud and Prejudiced* in February, may bring out larger numbers. An EDL Facebook page claims that the event, which the EDL has hypocritically titled "Love Luton – love the English Defence League", will be "the biggest demo to date".

Antifascists are determined not to let the EDL have the run of the streets to promote their hatred and intolerance. A coalition of community groups and trade unionists in Luton is organising a "We are Luton" protest march and multicultural celebration to oppose the EDL racists and fascists. Marchers will assemble at 11am, Wardown Park, New Bedford Road, Luton LU3 1LP and march to St George's Square in the centre of town.

A statement by the protesters, which include several youth organisations, trade union branches and regional organisations, Luton and Beds Green Party, Luton Council of Mosques and Kelvin Hopkins MP, says, "The EDL aims to create divisions in society by using diversity as a cause for hatred rather than celebration. There is no place for the EDL in Luton's multiracial, multicultural and multi-faith community."

Penned in, the EDL can only shout "Muslim scum" *Photos: Daphne Liddle*

EDL leader Tommy Robinson, who after months of prevarication, or negotiation, now appears set to join the British Freedom Party and go straight in as deputy leader

Unite Against Fascism and *Searchlight* are supporting the demonstration and are calling for as many people as possible from around the country to join the protest. Last September thousands of antifascists successfully stopped the EDL from setting foot in Tower Hamlets for a demonstration they had described as their "big one". The 600 EDL thugs who turned out could not even set foot in the borough.

In Bolton in March the North West Infidels, a splinter group from the EDL, were seen off the streets by militant antifascists who refused to let themselves be penned in by the police. In Liverpool in April the threat of antifascist protests and pressure from students resulted in the Liverpool Guild of Students calling off a mayoral debate that would have given a platform to fascist candidates from the British National Party and National Front. Then when around 20 fascists were spotted heading towards an antifascist victory rally, activists from Liverpool Antifascists chased them off and continually broke through police lines to harass the fascists until the police were forced to herd them away.

And in Brighton on 22 April, 130 supporters of March for England, which promotes racist and fascist ideals under the guise of patriotism, tried to march from the station to the seafront under police protection to hold their annual St George's Day rally. They found their path blocked by over 2,000 antifascist demonstrators, mainly from the local community supported by several organisations.

A police report that two officers were injured by protesters

defeat the EDL in Luton

Civil servants in the PCS and UAF supporters protest against the EDL's intimidation of ethnic minority workers

throwing missiles seems to be a fabrication as video evidence shows the March for England supporters pelting opponents and police with bottles and other objects. They failed to reach the sea front, were corralled in a park unable to hold any sort of meeting and ended up begging the police to get them out of town.

This time there have been no calls for the EDL march in Luton to be banned. Antifascists are working to mobilise the existing local opposition to the EDL in a town that has seen several previous EDL activities, and help the community to protect itself. A ban would not prevent the EDL holding a static protest, so the fascists would still be in the community and may even be allowed to walk from a local station to the protest venue accompanied by police – not greatly different from a march. And a ban would almost certainly prevent an antifascist march as well, as was the case in east London last September.

Racist ideas cannot be beaten by the state banning a particular march or even an organisation, but must be defeated politically. A ban would not prevent the fascists returning on another day, in contrast to determined opposition by local people ensuring the fascists have no doubt that they are not welcome. A Home Office ban also raises an important matter of principle, namely that antifascists should not support the state exercising powers to interfere in political protest in any form. Such powers may equally be used against the left. The state only works to its own agenda and does not support working people. The only way in which an EDL march should be "banned" is by mass community protest, as in the Battle of Cable Street in 1936, not by demanding the state does it.

Discerning readers will notice that this view differs from *Searchlight's* position under its previous editor, a change for which we do not apologise.

Last year, the EDL brought around 3,000 people to Luton – above their usual turnouts at the time. They were opposed by up to 5,000 residents and antifascists who took to the streets in various locations to show their opposition to the EDL and to defend Bury Park, where many of Luton's Muslim community live. In 2010 the EDL went on the rampage through the town attacking Asian residents and spreading fear and intimidation.

In contrast an EDL protest outside the Home Office on 17 April attracted under 30 racists, who were penned inside metal barriers and opposed by around 50 civil servants and other antifascists. The EDL, which was protesting for the deportation of Abu Qatada, shouted "Muslim scum", giving the lie to their claim only to oppose Islamist extremism.

The Luton demonstration comes two days after polling day on 3 May. Let's hope over these three days we can throw out the seven BNP councillors seeking re-election, prevent the BNP gaining a seat on the London Assembly and show the EDL that Luton wants nothing to do with them and their racism and Islamophobia.

Swedish hate tourist?

Searchlight welcomed at teachers' conference

By **Cathy Pound**

SEARCHLIGHT was warmly welcomed at the NUT 2012 conference in Torquay, where a steady flow of delegates came to our stall. They discussed the current political climate in the run-up to the council, London Assembly and mayoral elections and in particular focussed on the English Defence League and its forthcoming rally in Luton on 5 May.

One delegate had seen Tommy Robinson, street leader of the EDL, on the BBC's *The Big Question* and said that although Robinson made his views obvious, he did have 'an answer for everything' and she was worried that people could be taken in by him.

On 8 April, we spent the day telling delegates about Roma Nation Day, in order that they might consider celebrating it next year in their school and in their community. (The day usually falls during the spring school holiday.) We gave out information on the Traveller Solidarity Network and Europe-Roma organisation.

Unite Against Fascism launched its quarterly magazine, *Unity*, sponsored by the NUT, and the Holocaust Education Trust distributed copies of the newly launched Hope Not Hate bi-monthly magazine. We welcome these new publications and were pleased to have the opportunity at this conference to reassure Trade Union Friends of Searchlight affiliates that they will continue to receive *Searchlight* magazine.

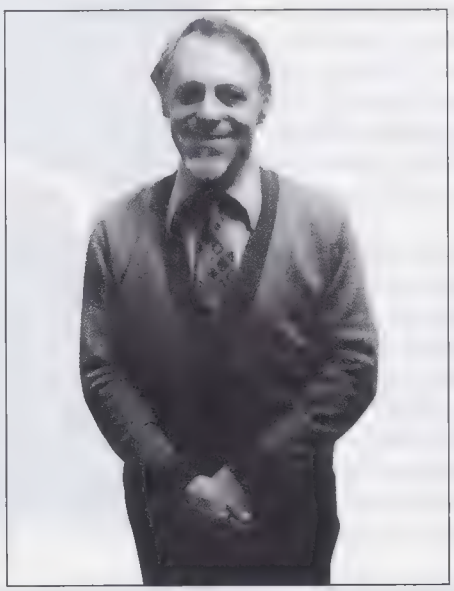
Maurice Ludmer: dedicated trade unionist and antifascist

By **Gerry Gable**

THIS MONTH WE REMEMBER one of *Searchlight's* most brilliant organisers and editors. Maurice Ludmer, who died 31 years ago, served in the British Army during the Second World War and spent the closing months of the war based in France. He said it was one of the most educational and exhilarating times of his life, living and working alongside members of the Maquis of the French Resistance. They taught him his socialist politics and to hate fascism and racism in all its forms, a belief that was reinforced after his visit to Belsen concentration camp.

Towards the end of the 1960s, when we were both involved with the Searchlight organisation, Maurice took me to Paris to meet these old comrades, some of whom had suffered torture and incarceration in concentration camps for fighting the Nazi occupiers. What amazing, principled and decent men and women they were.

In the mid-1950s Maurice alongside Jagmohan Joshi of the Indian Workers' Association helped set up the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) in which black, Asian and white trade unionists joined together to fight racism at a time when even some trade unions had elected fascist stewards. They won success in two of the major battles for workers' rights: the women's Mansfield Hosiery strike in 1972 and the struggle at Imperial Typewriters (1974) against racist employers who were supported by racist trade union officers.



I was reminded of Maurice's work and dedication when watching the first programme in a television series on the 1970s last month in which striking miners succeeded in forcing the closure of the gates at Saltley coke depot and gas works in Birmingham, thanks to support from 40,000 engineering workers who had joined the picket. Maurice was president of Birmingham Trades Council at a time when its affiliated unions had a massive membership. The strike was a pivotal moment in the 1972 miners' victory.

In 1975 Maurice helped launch *Searchlight* as a monthly magazine. Searchlight continues working with trade unions today through Trade Union Friends of Searchlight.

Maurice led by example and his mantra of turning antiracists into antifascists and antifascists into antiracists should be a continuing example to us all. His untimely death in 1981 is still felt not only at *Searchlight* but throughout the movement.

Salud Maurice, lotta continua

Swimming against the tide

SERTUC (Southern and Eastern TUC) has published its ninth survey of equality in trade unions, reporting on the structures and activities to promote equality in 38 TUC affiliates covering 99% of the affiliated membership.

It is entitled *Swimming against the tide* because, says SERTUC, "the environment of cuts, job losses and economic failure we are working in makes promoting equality an uphill struggle".

Nonetheless, says the report, unions display innovation and imagination in their work to ensure the voices of all members are heard. For example:

- Journalists' union NUJ (a union with a female membership of 39%) has increased the proportion of women on its National Executive Council from 13% to 32% through job sharing and gender balanced nominations.
- Rail union RMT has developed a trade union history course for young members that links seminar sessions with visits to the major trade union festivals – including the Burston Strike School Rally in the SERTUC region.
- Actors' union Equity has reclaimed and showcased the work of stage director Ethel Craig in LGBT history.
- Teachers' union NUT is working to address a lack of teachers of Asian heritage amongst its activists.

SERTUC regional secretary Megan Dobney said: "The purpose of these surveys is not to wag the finger at unions, but to enable equality activists to avoid reinventing the wheel. If you see a shortcoming in your union's equality representation – you'll find an innovative and effective answer has been developed somewhere in our movement.

"*Swimming against the tide* is a tool and resource for activists and officers – get your copy, use it, and we'll all be stronger!"

You can download the report at www.tuc.org.uk/sertuc.

Trade Union Friends of Searchlight

TUC conference 2012 fringe meeting

Fighting Fascism On All Fronts

Tuesday 11 September 2012 5.30–7.00pm

Old Ship Hotel, Kings Road, Brighton BN1 1NR

(a few minutes from the Brighton Centre, on the seafront)

Speakers so far:

Leonard Zeskind, award-winning US author, leading US expert on the far right and Director of the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights

Frank Dobson MP, founding chair of Labour Friends of Searchlight

Dominic Byrne, Divisional Secretary Barking and Dagenham NUT

Megan Dobney, Regional Secretary SERTUC

Bob Crow, General Secretary RMT

Chaired by Cathy Pound, Searchlight TU liaison officer

TUC

Trade Union Friends of Searchlight (TUFS) will have a stall at the TUC conference in Brighton 9–12 September and at some other TU conferences during 2012.

Confirmed TUFS stalls so far are at:

- PCS conference in Brighton 21-25 May
- BECTU in Manchester 26 May

See www.searchlightmagazine.com for updates

Offers of help welcome, please contact Cathy Pound at editors@searchlightmagazine.com

TUC

News and analysis

FRANCE

Veteran International Brigader Lise London dies

By **Pauline Fraser**

LISE LONDON, former International Brigade volunteer, resistance fighter and honorary President of ACER, the French association for the fighters for the Spanish Republic, died in Paris on 31 March at the age of 96.

"Her life and her involvement in struggle continue to inspire our actions in memory of the International Brigaders and the values that they fought for. We have lost a friend and a Grande Dame," writes Jean-Paul Chantereau, Secretary of ACER.

Lise London, born Elisabeth Ricol, was the daughter of a Spanish family from Aragon who emigrated to France in the early years of the 20th century in search of work. Her father had worked in the mines and quarries of southern France and died of silicosis at the age of 25. The family were forced to sell fruit and vegetables in the street to survive. She later learnt shorthand-typing and joined the Young Communist League at the age of 15. In 1934, aged 18, she was sent to Moscow as a delegate to the Comintern from the French Communist Party.

It was there that she first met Dolores Ibarruri, La Pasionaria. She was also to meet the love of her life in Moscow, Artur London, a Czech Communist Party militant. It was love at first sight. Lise recalls seeing this "tall, good-looking young man, standing in the middle of the Comintern self-service dining-room, as if turned to stone. He stared intensely at me, without seeming to realise that the cup of tea he had in his hand was spilling over his cuff." They decided to live together in 1935.

On the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, she helped set up the International Brigades in Paris and then joined Brigade Commander André Marty, at the HQ at Albacete. She remembered with emotion the long train journey and the thousands of Spaniards at the stations calling out: "Thank you brothers". Of the many Brigaders who sacrificed their lives, she said: "without their sacrifice, what would have happened to our humanity?"

Reunited with Artur in Paris, Lise gave birth to their daughter, Françoise, in 1938. But the happy times were all too brief.

Under Nazi occupation, Lise became a Captain in the Resistance. She was arrested in August 1942 by the French police. She was accused of "assassination, associating with evil-doers, Communist activities". She gave birth to her son, Michel, in prison. He was taken away from her when she was sent to Romainville, a halfway house, before being sent to Ravensbrück concentration camp and then to Buchenwald. Her father, brother and his friend had also been imprisoned and Artur was deported to Mauthausen. She was later awarded the title of Officer of the Legion of Honour in recognition of her work as a Resistance fighter.

Lise lived through dark years: the family torn asunder, her friends shot or gassed. She remembered with emotion the forced labour, the beatings, the hunger, the firing squads, the ovens used to cremate the victims of the gas chambers, the long forced march when Russian and American troops were approaching Buchenwald. She let fall a tear, then quickly changed the subject to the clandestine organisation that operated under the noses of the SS. For Lise, the struggle came before everything.

But the dark years were not yet over. The Communist Ricol-London family lived with Stalinism in the flesh. After the Second World War, they moved to Prague where Artur became a leading figure in the Communist Party and was appointed Czechoslovakia's deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. Like Lise, he had been deported to concentration camps during the war, as had a number of other International Brigade veterans whom Stalin and his stooges wanted to make disappear. In 1951 he was arrested and accused of espionage, becoming a co-defendant in the Slánsky trial. At first, Lise doubted him, but she soon saw that it was a put-up plot by Moscow. Artur spent four years in prison, including 27 months in solitary confinement, suffering sleep deprivation, interrogation, beatings, torture and blackmail.

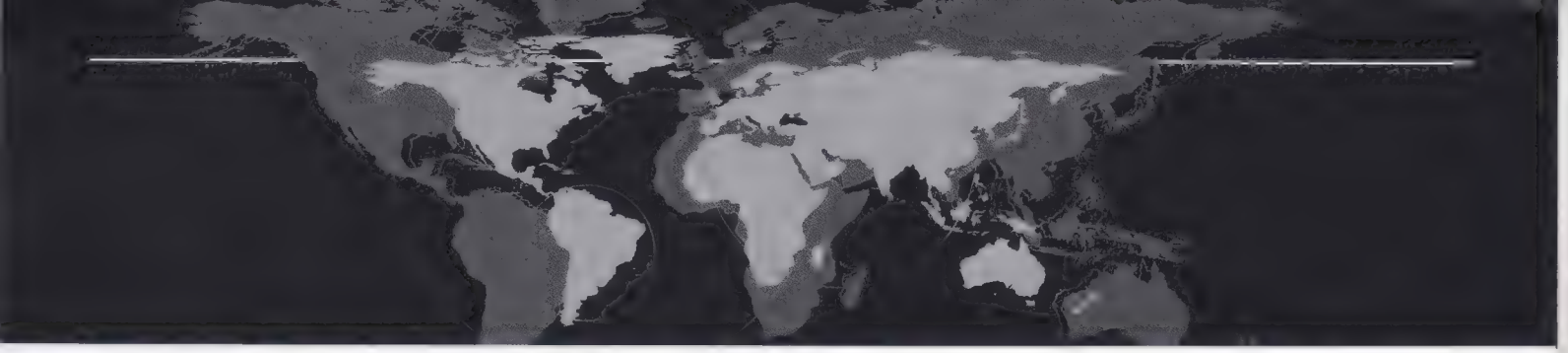
Lise was to suffer persecution in Prague in front of her parents and her children. "You behave no better than the Nazi police who arrested Artur and me in 1942," she told the police. She worked in a factory to survive and was given the worst jobs. Her former friends deserted her and she was expelled from the Communist Party. "I was, I am and I remain a Communist, with or without a party card," she told her Stalinist prosecutors. She was to get her party card back when she returned to Paris.

The couple recounted that episode in their lives in the book, *L'Aveu*, which was later turned into a film with Simone Signoret in the title role. Artur died in 1986.

After the death of Franco, Lise London went to live in Spain, the country of her parents. There she took pride of place at the many tributes and commemorations to the International Brigades and had her memoirs published.

Lise London remained a militant antifascist to her dying day, calling for tolerance, for people to listen to one another. A great woman has left us.

Lise London as a young woman and in her later years



SPAIN

Judge rules International Brigades memorial illegal

By **Pauline Fraser**

A SPANISH JUDGE has ruled that the memorial to the International Brigades in University City, Madrid, is illegal. The memorial was unveiled on 22 October 2011 in front of a large crowd of supporters, including four former International Brigaders.

Last month's judgement stated that it was not until 9 November that clearance was sought for the erection of the monument. The judge upheld an appeal against the erection of the memorial by a private individual, ruling that the action of the University constituted a fait accompli and that was against the law.

Sources for the University Rectorate say that permission for the memorial was negotiated with Madrid Council, bearing in mind that the premises of the University are largely outside municipal jurisdiction. The University is seeking legal advice before deciding its position. The sources added that the ruling did not necessarily mean that the University would have to remove the memorial.

University City was the scene of fierce fighting during November 1936, in the first year of the Spanish Civil War, and it was where the first volunteers to be organised into an International Brigade, to be known as XI, took part.

Fifteen days after the inauguration of the memorial, the forces of fascism and reaction tried to blot out its message of resistance by crudely daubing the word "Asesinos" – murderers –across it in red paint, which was spattered and splashed over other parts of the memorial. It has since been restored.

The University City memorial at its inauguration

News and analysis

UNITED STATES

Racist violence and the

By **Leonard Zeskind and Devin Burghart**
Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights
www.IREHR.org

THE TOWN OF SANFORD was once a sleepy little fishing and agricultural village nestled into central Florida's lake country. Today it is a bedroom community suburb for the rapidly expanding population of the Orlando metropolis. And the events surrounding the shooting death of Trayvon Martin by George Zimmerman have (temporarily) placed the town at the crossroads of the American discussion of race and racism.

Many of the relevant facts of the case are known. Trayvon Martin was a black teenager visiting a gated and restricted neighbourhood of Sanford on the night of 26 February, when he walked back from a local convenience store with candy and a can of ice tea in his hands. It was raining and he was wearing a sweatshirt with the hood up. He was spotted by a neighbourhood watch volunteer, George Zimmerman, who called Martin's presence in to an emergency police dispatcher. The dispatcher told Zimmerman not to pursue the young man, who was just walking in the street at night. Zimmerman did not comply, pursued the unarmed young man and shot him dead.

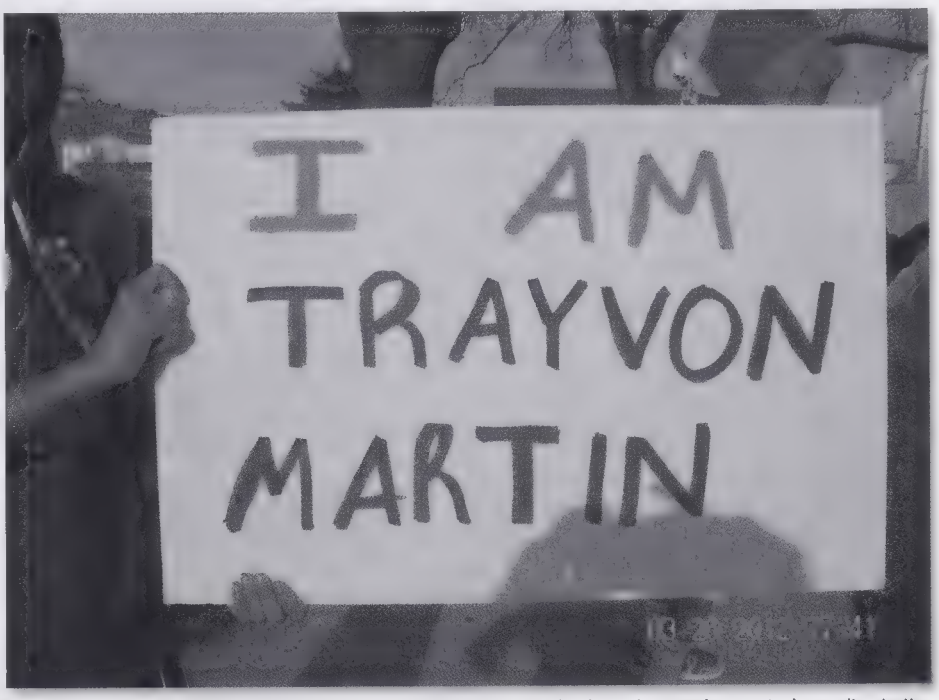
Zimmerman told the police he shot the unarmed teenager in self-defence, and the police let him go without administering the most basic drug and alcohol tests, or running a background check, or even detaining him overnight. By contrast, Martin's body lay in the morgue for three days, with his cell phone, without even the most cursory attempts to identify him.

As soon as the situation became public knowledge, the protests and campaigns began. The NAACP led rallies of thousands in Sanford, demanding justice for the teenager. Zimmerman, who has variously been described as white or Hispanic, had a history of accosting black people in the neighbourhood. Racial profiling and racist violence became issues, along with the elementary misconduct of the Sanford police and prosecutors. Petitions were signed by over two million people demanding justice for Martin. Rallies in cities across the country erupted, drawing tens of thousands more. They became the largest manifestation of self-conscious anti-racist activism in years.

The local police chief and county prosecutor were forced to step down, and the Florida Governor named a special prosecutor. And still the anti-racist rallies and campaign continued.

Racism by white people was taking a public beating, so white racists stepped up in their own defence. For example, Kyle Rogers, a South Carolinian and a national board member of the Council of Conservative Citizens (CCC), used his blog to attack Martin's character.

Though filled with rumours and race-baiting, Rogers's posts caught the attention of the Associated Press. On 23 March, a wire service article uncritically quoted Rogers and gave substantial space to his point of view, helping to normalise many of the bigoted and unsubstantiated claims about the shooting. Other white nationalists, including James Edwards of the Political Cesspool radio programme, Steve Sailer at VDARE.com, and the American



The shooting of Trayvon Martin brought out thousands of people onto the streets demanding justice

death of Trayvon Martin

Renaissance followed the same blueprint.

One post by Hunter Wallace, on Occidental Dissent, claimed success for the white nationalist cause. "High five everyone ... the blogosphere has pretty much killed the myth of Trayvon Martin ... the legend of poor innocent Trayvon, the unarmed boy with Skittles and Arizona iced tea who was the victim of a racist vigilante, has been fucking assassinated."

Many white nationalists praised Zimmerman for killing Martin. In article entitled "The Lynching of George Zimmerman", one argued that "George Zimmerman should be praised by his neighbors for attempting to defend their gated community from a notorious criminal element".

Other racists were not so sure about defending Zimmerman. Over at the Stormfront online forum they took exception to people thinking that he was white. "He looks pure wetback to me," wrote one. Another added: "This Zimmerman case is a perfect example of why we don't want Hispanics in our schools, neighborhoods and restaurants. But as bad as the 'spanics [sic] are, the nigra [sic] are more than twice as bad. In this case, the only mistake Zimmerman (the Hispanic victim) made was he neglected to double tap the nigra."

California professor Kevin MacDonald, who runs the journal *The Occidental Quarterly* and directs the American Third Position party, tried to intellectualise the response as an anti-white media conspiracy: "But now the media goes into overdrive pretty much only when the message is that Whites are evil or, as with the election of Obama, that America is at last shedding its White identity (and none too soon). The main source of information in today's society is the mass media which is controlled by an elite that is hostile to the traditional people and culture of America. Events like this, as seen through the lens of the media, serve to reinforce the current multi-cultural zeitgeist which is based on the premise that White people have no right to assert their interests and identity as Whites except when, as in this case, White identity is linked in the media to unjustified violence against non-Whites or some other evil."

In a classic case of ambulance chasing, the National Socialist Movement announced that they were a white civil rights organisation and were patrolling the streets of Sanford to protect the local citizenry. National Socialists, of course, do not know the meaning of civil rights and, as it turned out, were not actually patrolling anybody's streets.

Now that Zimmerman is under arrest for second degree murder, the public focus will shift to his putative defenace, which is likely to include invocation of Florida's "stand your ground" law. This law, cooked up by the National Rifle Association, has been passed in one form or another by 32 of the 50 states. If followed, it creates a virtual version of the Old West caricature of allowing someone to shoot you if you spit in their road. Zimmerman will claim that Martin was a threat, and he needed to shoot him – and once again the black victim will be claimed to be the perpetrator. And the courts and a jury will decide.

News and analysis

GREECE

Economic turmoil gives pre

By **Laurence Elliott**

WITH EARLY PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS supposedly weeks away, crisis-struck Greece has seen the growing dispute over immigration take an increasingly prominent place on the public stage. Widespread criticism of the current socialist-conservative coalition's acceptance of a EU-IMF economic recovery plan has also led to a worrying surge in support for far-right groups that have been linked to an increase in racially motivated violence.

The past few months have seen an epidemic of these racist attacks in and around Athens, usually directed against Afghan refugees. Human Rights Watch recently reported on the level of racial violence in Greece, describing how vigilante groups patrol the streets of Athens attacking ethnic minorities on sight. Afghan migrants and asylum seekers supposedly spoke of no-go areas of the city after dark because of the risk of attack by these groups, nearly all of which remain unhindered and unpursued by the Greek police. One particular case in May 2011 resulted in at least 25 people being hospitalised for knife wounds or beatings after far-right extremists tore through immigrant neighbourhoods.

This violence towards immigrants comes at a time when the Greek government is announcing controversial plans to seize all undocumented migrants and repatriate illegitimate asylum seekers to their home countries.

Greece acts as a hub for Turkish and Middle Eastern migrants intent on moving to more economically fertile northern and western European countries. Many, however, remain in Greece and it is estimated that there are up to a million undocumented migrants in the country, many of whom end up being exploited in incredibly low-paid construction and agricultural jobs. Numerous others live in appalling conditions in the cities and often succumb to organised crime, drugs and prostitution.

In an interview for a Greek television network, Citizen's Protection Minister Michalis Chryssohoidis announced plans to build 30 "closed hospitality" centres around Greece. "Around 150,000 people enter every year, creating an important problem for social peace in the country," he said earlier in the month, adding that "hundreds of thousands of people circulate the country illegally".

Golden Dawn leader Nikos Michaloliakos greets voters in Megara in April

At a time when Greece is in the midst of an economic meltdown Chryssohoidis announced that he wanted to redirect €250 million (£205 million) from EU funds into building the new centres. These plans have come under intense criticism, however, particularly from the communities earmarked for the centres. Vassilis Papadopoulos, a migrants' rights lawyer, says that "this is just a campaign for the elections. Reception centres for thousands of migrants need enormous financial resources."

Nazi threat

The far-right LAOS party (Popular Orthodox Rally) currently has 16 members in parliament and is predicted to experience a worrying level of success in the coming elections. The more extreme neo-Nazi and ultranationalist group Golden Dawn, whose leader Nikos Michaloliakos was elected to Athens city council in 2010, is expected to poll well over the 3% threshold of votes required for entry into parliament. Unlike many of its far-right counterparts across Europe, however, Golden Dawn members are unashamedly fascist. Many are viciously racist Holocaust deniers and are happy to describe themselves as national socialists. The group proudly displays extreme-right books, including Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, in its Athens headquarters and has recruited street armies in the style of the

-election surge to far right

English Defence League that are guilty of countless acts of violence towards immigrants.

Much like in the rest of Europe, stark warnings have been given about the rise of the far right in Greece both from within and outside the country. Greece's Culture Minister Pavlos Geroulanos, for example, expressed particular concern over hardline neo-fascists such as Golden Dawn entering parliament. "Do we want to see pictures of a parliament with deputies being sworn in with the Hitler salute ... If we don't wake up early enough ... there will be major damage," he said. Earlier in the month, Evangelos Venizelos, the leader of the Socialist Party who is running in the May election, gave similar warnings, saying that "Parliament cannot become a place for those nostalgic for fascism and Nazism".

Even the mainstream parties in Greece are making a Sarkozy-style public shift to the right in an attempt to poach potential LAOS and Golden Dawn voters. According to recent polling, the conservative New Democracy party was predicted to win the election after pledging to crack down on the residency criteria for migrants. It even managed to convince two of LAOS's best known deputies to join its electoral lists.

It remains unclear, however, how big a political threat groups such as Golden Dawn actually pose. Whilst these radical parties are quick to exploit Greek economic turmoil for their own gain, flashes of support in polls for protest fringe groups are unsustainable and rarely equate to actual votes at the national level. Nevertheless, regardless of what happens on polling day in May, the epidemic of racial violence inflicted by Golden Dawn street thugs remains a significant problem for Greek society, one that is in drastic need of addressing.

Violent confrontation between anarchists and Golden Dawn members in Thessaloniki in 2002

ITALY

Northern League in trouble but not for its racism

By **Alfio Bernabei**

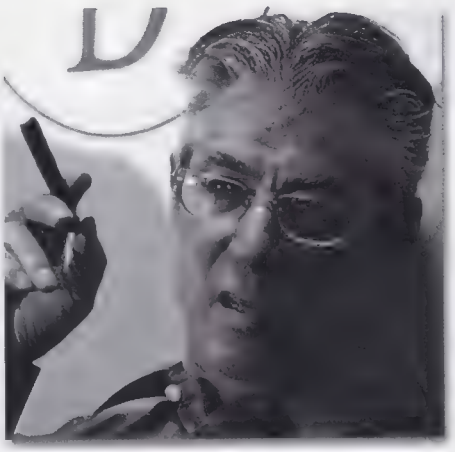
THE VIDEOGAME was called, *Rimbalza il clandestino* (Bounce the illegal immigrant). In October 2009 *Searchlight* explained how it worked. Boatloads of immigrants were precariously positioned near the coasts of Italy attempting to land. Players received extra points by successfully mouse-clicking on them to make them disappear off the map. No life boats or lifelines in sight. The players who failed to keep Italy clear of immigrants by not sinking enough boats got the notice "Game Over. Try again. Hope you'll do better next time to show you are a worthy member of the Northern League Party."

The game featured on the official Facebook page of the League. Its creator was Renzo Bossi, son of Umberto, the founder of the League and sometime government minister. Bossi senior had no reason to be surprised by his son's game. Using "the means of war" against immigrants at sea had been advocated before by members of his party. The League's MEP Mario Borghezio had received a jail sentence for attacks on immigrants. Though actual killings were discarded as impractical, they were strongly implied as a possibility as late as last year. "We cannot shoot at them" said a deputy minister member of the League, adding "for the time being".

The Northern League has now been hit by a scandal that engulfs Bossi's family and close associates. Investigations will probably continue for months into alleged corruption and illegitimate use of public money. Though not directly funded by the taxpayer, parties that obtain more than 4% of the vote at a general election are entitled to receive state money in the form of reimbursement of expenses, estimated on the number of votes received. In the 2008 election the League obtained 8.3% and received €41.3 million (£33.9 million). It was enjoying 9.5% in opinion polls shortly before the scandal broke out.

Bossi senior has resigned as leader of the League but retains an important position in the party. His son Renzo has also resigned from the Regional Council of Lombardy. The big shake-up continues. But it looks little more than political déjà vu of limited significance if one considers what's at stake. Last November Berlusconi was also forced to take a step back. This wasn't because the electorate voted him out. He left on account of external pressures (virtual ultimatums from Sarkozy-Merkel to leave the stage in an attempt to save the euro). Similarly, the League's current troubles are not the result of voters turning their backs on it because they have had enough of racism and xenophobia. It's all due to some financial scandal.

Bossi's party was set up in 1991. It was racist from the start. It viewed southern Italians as primitive and inferior; it played on the insulting description of them as *terroni*, brown-skinned beings a bit too close to the soil (terra) to be fully human. At its inception the League demanded secession from the south and even central Italy. Unable to advocate ethnic cleansing, it chose entrenchment. The League was brought into government for the first time in 1994 by Berlusconi, alongside the fascists. It played a role in three legislatures until the end of 2011. It called for a state called Padania. Its constituency was among northern Italians of all classes. It got votes not just from the right and centre but also from those on the left who had reasons to reject the corrupt central governments infiltrated by the Mafia.



Umberto Bossi: a financial scandal forced his resignation

Bossi attacked fascism, but fascists joined in, especially when he began to make deals with Gianfranco Fini's National Alliance, another member of Berlusconi's coalition. The two later worked on bringing about tough anti-immigration laws.

The League was the first to mount anti-Islamic campaigns. Protest marches against the construction of mosques saw the brandishing of flaming torches in a style reminiscent of the Ku Klux Klan. The former minister and member of the League Roberto Calderoli took a pig to urinate on soil designated for a new mosque. The whole party embraced the racist writer and journalist Oriana Fallaci who shortly before she died advocated the bombing of a mosque.

For the past twenty years the League has inculcated racist sentiments in millions of Italians. Racists and fascists have felt encouraged to speak out openly, shielded by the fact that Bossi and his cronies held government posts. A whole generation has been affected by a party that has fostered ignorance and hatred. It's a bad sign that the current troubles have come about because of the alleged use of public money to buy fake university diplomas, repair home balconies or hire some fast cars. One would have wished it had been the voters who said "Game Over" and kicked the League into the dustbin of history.

GREECE

Nazis attack PASOK MP

A SOCIALIST ELECTION RALLY in northern Athens was attacked by nazis on 21 April. Around 100 supporters of the Chrysi Avgi party changed slogans against all politicians and hurled bottles of water and cups of coffee at Petros Efthymiou, a Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) MP. No injuries were caused.

The attack took place in front of two foreign television crews, including one from the BBC, that were filming reports on the rise of neo-nazism in Greece.

All parliamentary parties condemned the attack, highlighting its coincidence with the anniversary of the coup d'état 45 years ago that put in place the military junta of 1967-74.

Chrysi Avgi leader Nikos Michaloliakos played down the incident, saying on camera that the weather was warm enough and a shower with water cannot have hurt Efthymiou.

FINLAND

Armbands for immigrants

AN ASSISTANT TO AN MP of the far-right populist Finns Party has suggested that immigrants should be made to wear armbands to make policing easier.

Helena Eronen, who works for James Hirvisaari, wrote on her blog: "If every foreigner was obliged to wear a mark on their sleeve stating their country of origin, then the police could see at a glance that 'aha, there's a muslim from Somalia,' or 'aha, that's a beggar from Romania'."

She added that Muslims could be assigned a crescent mark and Russians a hammer and sickle. She also proposed identifying marks for Swedish Finns and homosexuals.

Last year Hirvisaari was convicted and fined by Kouvola District Court for incitement to ethnic or racial hatred.

FRANCE

Six million support Le Pen

MARINE LE PEN, leader of the fascist National Front, has taken 17.9% of the poll, coming third in the first round of the French presidential election. Her 6.4 million votes included strong support from young people.

The Socialist candidate François Holland topped the poll with 28.6% with President Nicolas Sarkozy coming second with 27.2%. Jean-Luc Mélenchon of the Left Front came fourth with 11.1%. *Searchlight* will carry an analysis of the results in June.

HUNGARY

Jobbik mayor discusses civil war

THE MAIN OPPOSITION Socialists have called a meeting of the parliamentary national security committee to investigate a recording on a television company's website in which the mayor of Gyongyospata allegedly discusses the potential outcome of a "civil war" with two racist vigilantes.

Mayor Oszkar Juhasz is a campaign leader in the fascist Jobbik party and the two racists are believed to belong to the banned paramilitary Hungarian Guard's successor organisation, For a Better Future Association. They are heard discussing at length "the possible outcome of an unavoidable civil war". Attila Mesterhazy, the Socialist party leader, said the recording also contained the voices of other people discussing Jews and Gypsies as "the races which have to be ground up as soon as possible".

Mesterhazy said the statements in the recording constituted an attempt to overturn constitutional order, a serious crime in the Hungarian penal code. He wants the committee to consider what kind of activities might under way to overturn the constitutional order, whether any preparations are being financed by foreign sources, whether any political party or its affiliates are involved in training people and preparing them to "win an imaginary civil war", and whether any attempt has been made to influence members of the Hungarian army.

Jobbik declined to comment, stating that it was a private conversation. Juhasz said he was not aware of the existence of such a recording and denied making such statements. Claiming there was a witch hunt against Jobbik and himself personally, he said that if the recording did exist it must have been doctored.

Gyongyospata was a flashpoint of friction between radical nationalists and the local Roma community which developed in March and April last year.

Meanwhile, Jobbik is proposing to "protect public morals and the mental health of the young generations" by banning the popularisation of "sexual deviancy". The author of the draft legislation, party spokesperson Ádám Mírkóczki, says that it would amend the criminal code and laws on the media and advertising. His targets are "homosexuality, sex changes, transvestism, bisexuality and paedophile behaviour", the state news agency MTI has reported.

Anyone who "popularises their sexual relations – deviancy – with another person of the same sex, or other disturbances of sexual behaviour, before the wider public" would risk a prison sentence of up to three years. It would presumably apply to participants in Gay Pride events. If the "popularising" were done in front of minors, the prison sentence would be five years.

Murder in Notting Hill, Mark Olden (Zero Books, 2011)

Paperback 205pp. £11.99

Reviewed by **Adam Carter**

LATE ON 16 MAY 1959, Kelso Cochrane, a carpenter originally from the West Indian island of Antigua, was walking home through the streets of Notting Hill. Kelso never made it home. He was attacked by a group of young white men, one of whom stabbed him through the heart with a stiletto blade, and he died hours later in hospital. His murderer was never charged despite his identity being, as the book states, "the worst kept secret in Notting Hill".

This book, written by journalist Mark Olden, who also made a documentary on this subject aired in 2006, is an investigation into this significant crime which was one of the first recorded racially motivated murders in the UK. It explores Kelso's background, the murder and its aftermath, the police investigation, the press reporting, the wider political ramifications, the role of fascist groups active in the area and the everyday lives of the black and white working class in Notting Hill. Ranging in time from the 1950s to the present day and drawing on numerous interviews with witnesses and suspects as well as books, official files and newspaper accounts, it combines a compelling ethnography and social history of the area with determined detective work and atmospheric reportage.

Notting Hill in the 1950s was very different from the glamourised (and monocultural) fantasy version in the 1999 film starring Hugh Grant and Julia Roberts. Notorious slum landlord Peter Rachman owned many of the rundown properties and parts of it were wracked with terrible poverty and overcrowding. During the summer of 1958 it became the scene of serious racist violence: gangs of white youths roamed the streets 'nigger-hunting' and randomly attacking local black people. The book starts with a graphic description of one of these racist attacks and the subsequent trial and conviction of nine white youths. These racist attacks culminated in the Notting Hill 'race riots' in late August when, over several nights, the black community was forced to defend itself from racially motivated mob violence.

Kelso Cochrane's funeral became a mass demonstration against racism.

Police failure

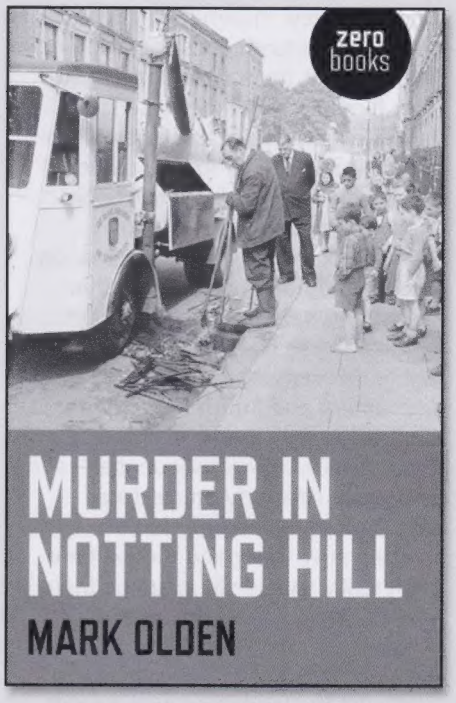
In the following year, against this background of community tension and civil disturbance, the police were keen to downplay the obvious racist motive for Kelso's murder and released a number of statements claiming robbery not racism was the motive. The book outlines a depressingly familiar story, similar to the murder of Stephen Lawrence, in which the police investigation was seriously flawed. It seems clear that the police had very strong suspicions about who the murderer was but there was a conspiracy of silence and the police later claimed that "there was not enough evidence for a conviction".

At the heart of this failure was a police force that was undoubtedly 'institutionally racist' but probably also a cynical assessment by police and the authorities that justice was less important than the expediency of appeasing racist sentiment. The conviction of a white man for the murder would have resulted in a sentence of hanging in 1959 and it appears that the establishment feared a racist backlash.

There are also suggestions – highly topical in the wake of the revelations in the Leveson inquiry – of police corruption and inappropriate collusion with the press. Within hours of the murder, details appeared on the front page of the *Daily Express* suggesting someone high up in the police force (Olden suggests it was probably the lead investigating officer Detective Superintendent Ian Forbes-Leith) had leaked details of the story to the press and various inaccurate smear stories attacking Kelso's character were also concocted and published.

Fascist groups

The vicious violence against the black population was stoked by locally based fascist groups including Sir Oswald Mosley's Union Movement (UM) and Colin Jordan's White Defence League (WDL), which were both very active in



west London. The WDL had a headquarters in the area and leading UM activists Jeffrey Hamm and Peter Dawson, who were fascist supporters until the 1990s, lived locally. Olden describes the WDL 'Keep Britain White' rally in central London a week after the murder where anti-fascists chanted "Who Killed Kelso Cochrane?" and jeered Jordan's speech. Mosley, who gave a speech at the murder site, stood for parliament in Kensington North in the 1959 general election but the UM were humiliated at the polls, suggesting that the calls for racial hatred had fallen on deaf ears.

Legacies

This was virtually the end of Mosley's electoral activities in the UK. However the racial violence in Notting Hill elicited a powerful and lasting reaction from the local black community and anti-racists. One result was the Notting Hill carnival instigated in 1959 and held every year since 1965 which attracts millions of visitors every August to its celebration of London's multicultural diversity. The events surrounding the case also influenced the passing of the Race Relations Act in 1965, which outlawed the vile racist propaganda circulated by the fascist groups.

Searchlight has always taken an interest in Kelso's murder. We featured a famous woodcut depicting the murder by artist Ken Sprague on the cover of one of our earliest issues. We also helped the author with research for the BBC documentary and the police cold case review, and our editor Gerry Gable (who is thanked in the acknowledgments) features in the book speaking of the dangers of the British National Party at a commemorative event.

After the BBC documentary was shown in 2006, Olden was approached by a woman who claimed that her stepfather Pat Digby had confessed to the murder. Digby, who died several years ago, was a known racist and had been held by the police during the original investigation. In the book Olden presents some powerful circumstantial evidence to corroborate his theory that Digby was responsible for the murder, so even though justice has never been served, Kelso Cochrane's killer has finally been identified. In doggedly pursuing this task and by vividly recreating a tragic and pivotal event in British social history, Olden merits our thanks. This is a well-written and important book and deserves to be widely read.

The Conservative Party and the Extreme Right 1945-75, by Mark Pitchford

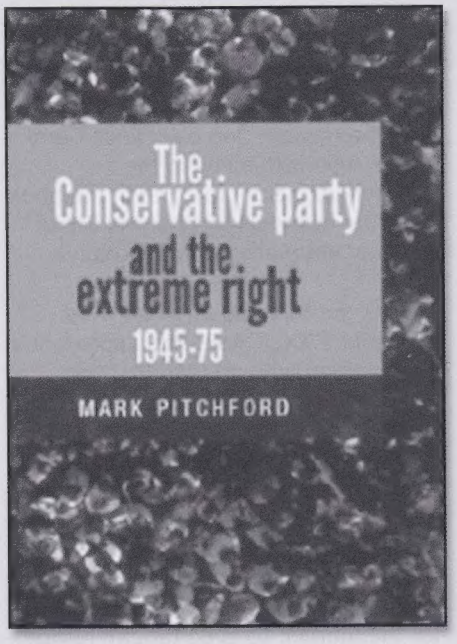
(Manchester University Press, 2011) Hardback 251pp. £65

Reviewed by **Adam Carter**

"SCRATCH A TORY and you'll find a fascist underneath" is a common expression on the left but, as this fascinating book demonstrates, the reality of the relationship between the Conservative Party and the extreme right has always been more complex than this. Drawing extensively on correspondence and reports from the archives of Conservative central office, the book is a detailed account of how the Tories reacted to a wide variety of threats from the extreme right in the period from 1945 to the election of Thatcher as party leader in 1975.

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, with the horrors of fascism seared deep into public consciousness, the Tories were wary of any association with right-wing extremism – especially as they were compromised by the well-known pre-war support among some Conservatives and members of the upper class for British fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley and for appeasing Hitler. In order to maintain their electoral appeal in the post-war era, Conservative central office actively gathered intelligence on any group to the right of them (as they saw it) and would then make recommendations to MPs, officials and local associations about how they should respond to those groups.

In so doing, Conservative central office was reflecting the views of its own leadership for much of this period as the 'one nation' politics of Macmillan and Heath generally shunned fascism, extremism and racism (although this was certainly not always the case for many of their MPs, officials and members). As the Tory leadership pretty much accepted the welfare state created by the Labour government and also oversaw the demise of the British Empire, decolonisation, the aftermath of the Suez crisis, the rise of militant trade unionism, the moral and social upheaval of the sixties and increased black immigration from the Commonwealth, there were plenty of issues for the extreme right to get agitated about.



One of the book's greatest strength is its in-depth account of the numerous fringe organisations to the right of the Tories who were ideologically motivated variously by a combination of one or other of these issues. Lots of these groups that were active at the time have since largely faded into history but it is nevertheless fascinating to read of the activities of the British Housewives League, Common Cause, Drakes Drum, the Elizabethan Party, the Fighting Fund for Freedom, Guild for Good Neighbours, Middle Class Alliance, New Reform Party and True Tory among others, and explore where the Tories agreed with or acted against such groups. Since most of these organisations are obscure, it would sometimes have helped the reader if the author had consistently provided more basic background information such as when they were founded, an estimate of how large they were, their main activists and publications, their ideology and how long they were active.

The author does however provide the most exhaustive analysis available of Edward Martell, a flamboyant maverick associated with a plethora of right-wing groups including the People's League for the Defence of Freedom, National Fellowship, Freedom Group and the National Party which veered from ultra-Conservative anti-trade unionism and strike-breaking to flirtation with fascism. At one point Martell's paper, the *New Daily*, claimed a circulation of 100,000 so he was an influential figure and it is useful to have this comprehensive summary of his political activism and the Conservative reaction to it.

There is also (fairly conventional) coverage of the imperialist and racist League of Empire Loyalists, the impact of Enoch Powell after his 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968 and a brief examination of the plethora of anti-immigrant groups which flourished in the period. More substantively, there is a detailed account of the Monday Club, formed in 1961 and which became an influential 'party within the party' by the 1970s. The author argues, probably correctly, that the Monday Club was the main extreme-right concern of the Heath era Conservative leadership and that active steps were taken by the leadership at central office to curb its activities. In addition to receiving widespread support from Tory MPs and local associations, the Monday Club often espoused overt racism and had extensive links with the National Front (NF) and other murky fascist groups. There is lots of intriguing data here although I still feel that there is much more to be told about the internal power struggles within the Monday Club and the extent of its links with the fascist right.

The reaction to the Monday Club, which was, let's not forget, part of the Conservative Party, typifies the ambiguous and sometime contradictory ways in which the Tory hierarchy dealt with the extreme right during this period. On the one hand, the book clearly demonstrates that the party leadership and central office made use of their influence over the party bureaucracy to thwart the extreme right, partly out of genuine distaste for some of their views and partly out of political self-interest –not wanting successful rivals for the Tory vote on the right. On the other hand, the book also demonstrates how the leadership also blunted the appeal of the extreme right by appeasement – adopting some of their policies, particularly on immigration and trade unions.

This book is an important and much-needed account of a surprisingly under-researched area. However there are some problems with it. The author's extensive use of the Conservative central office archives provides lots of genuinely new information and insights but it also circumscribes the scope of the book. As the author admits, the Tory files had very little material on the fascist extreme right and as these files are the main source for the author, it means that the book contains only passing mentions of the Union Movement, some limited material on the NF and nothing at all on other fascist and nazi groups such as the original British National Party, Greater Britain Movement, National Socialist Movement and British Movement. Even if the Tory grandees dismissed these groups as inconsequential – and they were definitely an electoral irrelevance – a book on the Conservative Party and the extreme right really should still examine them in more detail if it is to live up to its title.

There are other omissions: the cut-off date of 1975 is logical (Thatcherism reshaped the landscape of the right) but the hurried ending to the book means that there is no discussion and analysis of the various coup plots and private armies that were active in 1974-75 and brought together hardline conservatives with some on the far right. There is also no mention of the Swinton Circle and more importantly nothing on the Economic League which was active blacklisting left-wingers throughout this period.

The book contains some intriguing passing references to the role of the intelligence services – the author states that "It seems that Central Office's intelligence gathering went far beyond its own bureaucracy" and "Central Office [had] well-known connections to the intelligence services" – but this is unsourced. It is now well-established that the British intelligence services actively assisted elements of the 'anti-subversion' extreme right in their campaigns against communism and the broader left but were they also helping elements within the Tory party with information on the extreme right?

Despite these caveats, this book contains lots of valuable new evidence and its publication is to be warmly welcomed. The author states on his website that he is writing a sequel to this book covering the Conservative Party and the extreme right from 1975 until 2010 (a subject that *Searchlight* has documented extensively) and I look forward to that with great interest.

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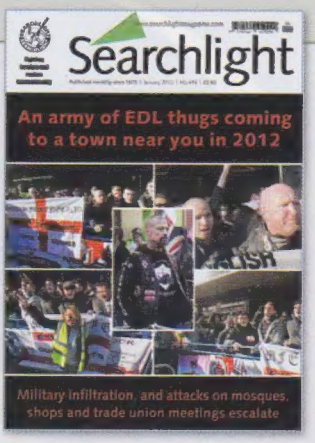

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